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GENOA ends as a defeat for all Europe. Lloyd George of course loses prestige by its failure; France has lost standing by her persistent obstruction; Italy has lost, for she hoped for glory as host of the first successful post-war parley; republican Germany has lost in that her first appearance as an equal in Europe's councils has been so feeble; Russia, although she has won a moral victory, leaves the Conference empty-handed. The announcement that Russian problems will be further discussed at a later conference at the Hague is merely one more in the long series of diplomatic failures camouflaged as "postponements." Genoa has proved more tragic than its predecessors in that Genoa opened with reason for new hopes. The new hopes were predicated upon the belief that Germany and Russia were to be counseled with as equals. When Lloyd George surrendered to the French demand for negotiation by "minimum demands" Genoa started upon its plunge to disaster.

FEISAL, crowned King of Irak in the expectation that he would be a docile satrap of Britain in Mesopotamia, satisfied with a title in lieu of independence, is chafing at his role. He asks that the British withdraw their Indian civil-service advisers as they had promised; he refuses to prohibit demonstrations in favor of abolishing the British mandate over Mesopotamia, and declares that "we Arabs hate to submit to any foreign authority. We hated the Turks, and we are not going to accept another bondage now." Meanwhile the other new puppet king, Ahmed Fuad of Egypt, announces that the Sudan, historically part of Egypt, is part of his kingdom of Egypt. The British, who were a bit vague about the matter in earlier negotiations, are now very sure that it is not. The Sudan, Lord Curzon says, is still British. (Incidentally the Sudan, controlling the headwaters of the Nile, controls all Egypt by that fact.) So the business of granting "self-government" without granting self-government runs into snags. It may be a very fine thing on paper to grant the name of independence while holding the reins unobtrusively in the hands of the Christian empires; in practice it does not work. Human nature intrudes upon paper theories, as the half-and-half apostles of liberal imperialism must learn. You either let a people run its wayward course of chaotic self-government, taking upon itself the burden of its mistakes, or step by step you are forced into the historic horrors of imperialism: you shoot down patriots as "bandits," you employ Black and Tans, you have Amritsars, you arrest Gandhi. Outside of the mouths of pleasant speakers there is no such thing as liberal imperialism.

THE miners on trial for treason in West Virginia are not likely to be convicted. The progress of the trial makes that apparent, and the men themselves, convinced of their innocence of the preposterous charge, have no fear of the outcome. But meanwhile the operators are winning their fight by slower, more insidious methods. The treasury of the United Mine Workers of America is being drained almost to the last drop for the expenses of the trial; and the pockets and cupboards of the miners are being similarly drained by the dragging weeks of unemployment. The union's treasury is the fighting power of the organization; without money the men are helpless victims of the operators' vengeance and the State's judicial terrorism. And the family cupboard measures the fighting strength of each miner. A brave man may go to prison or die but he cannot let his children starve. This sort of a defeat for the workers should be made impossible by the help of ordinary citizens who rebel at the thought of hungry children and men denied justice through lack of money. Contributions may be sent to the West Virginia Miners Relief Committee in care of *The Nation.*

IT is a melancholy fact that the Senate devotees of the sacred principle of high protection could not agree with their House brethren that the most efficient way to take the people's money for the benefit of the manufacturers was by "American valuation." Faced with a threat from Mr. Fordney of the House Committee that unless the Senate accepted American valuation Congress would be in session till the snow flew, and fearful lest some special interest might not be sufficiently protected, the Senate Finance Committee took counsel of the first maxim of the harassed legislator: "When in doubt pass the buck." That at least is the best explanation of the extraordinary legislative powers granted in the Senate tariff bill to the President. He may, in ill-defined cases and under vaguely defined conditions, substitute American for foreign valuation, increase or de-

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crease duties not to exceed 50 per cent, continue in force the embargo on coal tar products, and impose embargoes against other imports under certain specified conditions. How absurd are these conditions appears from this quotation: "Whenever the President shall find *as a fact* that any merchandise is offered or sought to be offered for entry into the United States in violation of this section, *but has not sufficient evidence to satisfy him thereof*, the Secretary of the Treasury shall, upon his request in writing, forbid entry thereof" until such investigation as the President may deem necessary shall have been completed.

TO Senator Walsh of Montana the public is indebted for an elaborate analysis of this extraordinary grant of power to the President. He shows that no previous delegation of power to the President is comparable in kind or degree to this virtual invitation to him to alter the tariff at pleasure. The President is not instructed as in other measures to find facts and then apply previously enacted laws to them; instead within wide limits he is to make the law to fit the facts or what he thinks are the facts. This is an abdication by Congress of its constitutional legislative powers. If it is not unconstitutional it is certainly contrary to the public interest. Almost any tariff is better than one that can be suddenly and drastically changed whenever a special interest gains the ear of the President. Let him be as incorruptible as Aristides, he cannot determine the innumerable and complex factors involved in equalizing conditions of competition between domestic and foreign goods, as he is directed to do by this bill. Many of the "facts," such as what constitutes a "reasonable profit," are matters of opinion. To make the President a tariff tinker measures the intellectual bankruptcy of Congress.

SEVENTY-FIVE per cent of the cases which now clog the Supreme Court in New York City are said to involve relatively small sums of money and no important points of law. They are mostly business disputes; judge and jury are compelled to listen to the testimony of rival experts and the wrangling of lawyers and then to guess which side comes nearest to telling the truth. Dispute after dispute could be settled in a few hours by conference out of court with the aid of an arbitrator who knows the conditions in the particular business in which the dispute arises. Proceeding on the basis of these facts the Arbitration Society of America is setting up a Tribunal of Arbitration to which disputants may by common consent apply for disinterested and expert arbitration. An act of the New York Legislature in 1920 legalized this sort of arbitration and gave the arbitrators the right to subpoena witnesses. The plans of the Arbitration Society have been widely indorsed by judges and lawyers and business men. Twenty-four hours after publication of the scheme twelve applications had been made to the society. If it does nothing more, this uncommon application of common sense will greatly relieve the strain on the courts. We hope that it will also give impetus to other attempts to substitute social action through voluntary associations for a too great dependence on inflexible bureaucratic machinery.

THE ruling passion of the railway executives is to force down wages. The Railroad Labor Board moves neither far nor fast enough for them. That Board has power to hear and pass upon all questions of wages and working conditions for railroad employees though not the power to enforce its rulings save by the weight of public opinion. The executives might openly defy the Board but that would impair its occasional usefulness as "an agency of government" when it rules against the workers. They have a trick worth two of that; they simply find or create a convenient corporation to which they let all repair work on cost-plus contracts, thus removing the workers from whatever protection the Labor Board's rulings afford. The Western Maryland, for example, on four days' notice put both shop and maintenance-of-way work under contracts. Naturally the men struck. In litigation connected with the railroad's application for an injunction it was established that the contractor was to leave all supervision to the railroad! Logically there is no end to this process. The roads may "contract" with similar dummies to run the trains and so avoid all supervision of the Labor Board. Thus there was only one thing left for the Board to do if it did not wish to consent to its own stultification. Hence, in deciding the Indiana Harbor Belt Railroad case, it directs that all efforts to get around the Transportation Law by letting out shop and maintenance work must end. The railroads announce that they will appeal to the courts on the ground that the sanctity of contract is threatened. If the courts cannot look behind the legalistic form of contract to the social reality the Transportation Act will be discredited and more strikes will be inevitable.

THE atmosphere of cordiality and hopefulness surrounding the meeting at Washington of the plenipotentiaries of Chile and Peru has been so vehemently insisted upon and so widely advertised that we hope it may actually produce results. Here is an international dispute which has no excuse in the world for remaining unsettled but which for forty-odd years has produced enmity and discord in three South American countries. The little strip of land comprising Tacna and Arica is worth very little to either major contestant. It is high time that a compromise be reached, either by way of a plebiscite or by direct international agreement. Bolivia's desire to intervene and present her claim to a strip of land and a seaport was quite pointedly ignored by both parties; but it would be a friendly and reasonable act if the conferees at Washington were to yield a part of their claims in favor of this land-bound state.

NICOLAI MANSEVITCH, the Russian Communist on whose case we commented in our issue of March 15, is on his way back not to Russia but to Poland in whose boundaries his native city is now included. The efforts of the *Detroit News* and of generous-minded citizens to prevent his deportation from the city in which he had been usefully employed were futile. Mrs. Mansevitch and three small children will become public charges. Families do not count when this great country puts spies to work to protect it against radical literature in the home of an alien worker against whom no overt act is alleged. Senator Sterling of the Judiciary Committee, in his official report defending Mitchell Palmer's anti-red raids, virtually said that aliens suspected of radicalism were so grave a danger to this allegedly free democracy that they have no rights in constitutional law or justice that the government need respect. It is his opinion rather than Senator Thomas Walsh's grave and reasoned condemnation, not only of the raids but of our

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present deportation law, which seems to speak the mind of the Senate. Yet the efforts of the Detroit citizens, of Senator Walsh, and of others are not vain. They help to keep alive some understanding of what freedom means against the day of an awakening of the public conscience.

JUGOSLAVIA, the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes," has its Ireland in Croatia. Croatia, turbulent enough under the Hapsburgs, has been more turbulent still under the Karageorgeviches of Serbia. Croatia, ethnically and linguistically close to Serbia, but religiously and culturally different, has a long tradition of independent spirit. The recent report that the Croats had proclaimed an independent Republic of Croatia, which was promptly denied by the Serbian Legation at Geneva, was incorrect only in that the Croats had proclaimed an independent republic months before. In the chaotic days when the Austro-Hungarian Empire was falling apart the Croatian diet unanimously declared Crotia's independence at the same time that it announced readiness to join in a federal kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes which would preserve provincial autonomy; and when the Jugoslav parliament voted a centralized constitution destroying local autonomy 63 of the 76 deputies from Croatia solemnly proclaimed it null and void, and withdrew, under the leadership of the peasant Radich, to their own mountain home where, on June 26, 1921, they promulgated their own constitution as that of the neutral Croatian Republic. Since then Croatia has been an Ireland indeed, with an heroic group of Republicans struggling for freedom by peaceful resistance.

VIENNA has just taken another step toward municipalization of public utilities. The Landtag has upheld the tenant-protection law and passed a house-construction tax bill despite the passionate objections of the landlords. The first law, passed during the war-time emergency, forbade raising rents and kept them artificially at almost the pre-war level, whereas prices have risen several thousand per cent. The second act provides for a progressive tax upon tenants, varying from 100 per cent to 1,000 per cent of the rentals paid. The income from this tax is to be used for repair of existing property and for construction of new, publicly owned houses. The house-construction tax act is intended to obviate stoppage of private construction and repair, impossible for the owners with returns absurdly low as compared with the inflated general price level. A law passed under the monarchy deprived house owners of control over their property. Economic forces now turn this law into a measure of socialization.

THE far-seeing eye is not, apparently, an exclusive attribute of Mr. Shaw or Mr. Wells or the earlier Utopian philosophers. It seems to belong to others as well; unlikely folk such as Elihu Root and Herbert Hoover. Together with some six hundred eminent citizens gathered to support the plans of the Russell Sage Foundation for a greater New York, these two prognosticators and others attempted to look ahead a century or so and to discern the outlines of the future city. Shall it be a sprawling, tumbled, uncouth thing; a monstrous octopus spreading loose tentacles out through Long Island, up the shores of the Hudson, over the flat reaches of Jersey? Or shall it be an ordered group of communities built around industries and schools and lines of transportation, planned to spread the population and draw it out of the choked, tumbled streets of the present city? The Sage Foundation has begun a real movement in preparing a far-reaching scheme for the orderly development of a great, growing, hurrying city, and in bringing together citizens who can and will support it.

MOST of the current discussion of the prohibition amendment and of the Volstead Act is so utterly prejudiced and passionate that it only makes more difficult serious treatment of the very real problem which still exists. The resolution introduced by Mr. Charles C. Burlingham at the recent diocesan convention of the Episcopal Church in New York City had a breezy sanity:

> The evils resulting from violation of the law are, in our opinion, far greater when the violators are persons prominent in the community. Such a statute as the Volstead Act works less hardship on the rich than on the poor: the rich can maintain, within the law, a private stock; the poor have not the means nor the opportunity to do this. "The destruction of the poor is their poverty." When the rich replenish their stocks in direct violation of the law, when at clubs, in restaurants and at social parties, they violate the law, the inevitable result is class antagonism and hatred.

CENTENARIES should now and then look forward. One hundred years from this month, we prophesy, there will be born—not made—a poet who will lisp in numbers because the numbers come. Finding the stiff mold of verse in his time a burden he will break it and try freedom after freedom. His teachers will be worried, his parents will be shocked, his critics will be hostile, and his public will be indifferent. The Academy and the Institute will not hear of him for years, or will hear of him only to their horror. Then by and by the strangeness will wear off. He will have his partisans, his imitators; he will get a good deal of kudos and a little cash; in time his manner will seem the most natural manner in the world. The Institute and the Academy will take him in; a great publishing house will bring out his works in a substantial uniform edition; in the universities he will be on the recommended lists. Two hundred years from now his centenary will be observed with robust approbation. But by that time another poet will have been born and the process will be once more under way. If the process were not perennial what would writers of centenary paragraphs do?

DANIEL BOONE went west in his day and, in spite of all the natives of Kentucky could contrive against him, became one of the most eminent of Kentuckians. Now Morvich, prince of the younger set among the thoroughbreds, has ventured into the very home of horses and has carried away the cup and purse of the Kentucky Derby in spite of all the native colts could do to hold them. Has the freedom of Kentucky been given him? It ought to be. He is the Carpentier of quadrupeds—without a Dempsey yet. Unbeaten as a two-year-old, he began his new year at Churchill Downs with a fanfare of glory which ranks him beside Man o' War in the admiration of good lovers of good horses. Poor Man o' War! Kept at home by family duties, he could not even look on while the successor to his fame sped his fleet six furlongs on a perfect track, beneath a perfect sky, under the gaze of forty thousand men and women, hardly one of whom but must have envied Morvich his flawless breed and beauty.

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Chicherin's "Fool Propaganda"

GENOA, which began by excluding the essential topics of reparations and disarmament, is ending in as unrealistic an attitude toward the Russian debts. The Allies asked the Russians to commit an act of deliberate and public hypocrisy: to admit in principle a debt which they knew they never could pay and which they did not believe they ought to pay, in exchange for an Allied promise to scale down the debt somewhat at some future time. The Russians, prouder, more honest, and stronger than the Germans at Versailles, refused. Maynard Keynes has pointed out that the Allies at Genoa were repeating the romantic follies of Versailles. They were not concerned with the question of what the Russians could pay but with the question of what they could be made to say they might pay if they could. As statesmanship such a policy is beneath contempt. Yet the majority of the American press, even of the liberal dailies which have learned that the soviet regime must be treated as the de facto government of Russia, call the Russian policy stupid and dishonorable. Whether it be stupid or not is a matter of judgment; Lloyd George and those who hang upon his words consider stupid any policy which runs contrary to his momentary whim. But it is not dishonorable.

What did the Russians say? In substance, this: that the Allied claims were not valid; that their own counterclaims were valid; but that in the interest of European reconstruction they were willing to consider mutual cancelation of claims or even, if they were granted a loan wherewith to begin reconstruction on a considerable scale, to acknowledge some possible part of the debt charged against them; and to take part in a conference of experts to study the matter further. A reading of Chicherin's long note will, we believe, convince an unbiased reader that the soviet statesman bases his case far more genuinely upon economic realities and upon the precedents of international law and custom than do the Allies. Frank A. Vanderlip, cautious banker that he is, frankly admits that the Russian claim "for damages inflicted by Powers which were not at war with them but which supplied war munitions and funds in vast quantities to their enemies on all borders" is "a strictly logical deduction."

Of course Chicherin's note made the Great Powers angry. "Fool propaganda," Lloyd George's private secretary called it. It hit Lloyd George and the American Government square between the eyes when it declared that "More than one state represented at Genoa has confiscated and sequestrated the property of foreigners or its own nationals without having been subjected on that account to the ostracism applied to Soviet Russia." It cut the ground from under Poincaré's feet when it recalled that:

> The French Convention, of which France considers herself the legitimate successor, proclaimed, on September 22, 1792, that "the sovereignty of peoples is not bound by the sovereignty of tyrants." In conformity with this declaration revolutionary France not only tore up the political treaties of the old regime with foreign countries but also repudiated its national debt. She only consented, and that from motives of political opportunism, to pay one-third, on which interest began to be paid regularly only at the commencement of the nineteenth century.

It pointedly recalled the parallel of the Alabama case, in which an international tribunal decided that Great Britain must pay $15,500,000 damages to the United States for losses caused by a privateer which preyed on Northern commerce during our Civil War, and noted that in Russia "the Powers not only took a direct part in the civil war but are its authors." Such language may be propaganda, as all diplomatic notes since diplomacy began have been in the nature of propaganda; but it is also good and legitimate propaganda, and the Allies would do well to quit thundering and attempt to answer the Russian arguments. The dishonor belongs to those who employ ultimata to cover up their lack of logic and reason.

Instead, the impenitent diplomats virtually admit their inability to meet the Russian arguments by proposing a post-Genoa parley at the Hague. This would be a conference of experts rather than of prime ministers; but the German experience seems to show that the decisions of such "expert" confabulations are usually cast to the winds rather than ratified. It is just as well—especially in view of his own devotion to the sacred cow Property—that Mr. Hughes has declined to take part at the Hague. If the Allies further persist in their reported intention to exclude the Russians from the decisive commission at the Hague the new parley, even more than Genoa, is foredoomed to failure. If it is to make progress it must heed Chicherin's note and meet in the spirit he outlines:

> The Russian Government sent its representatives to the Genoa Conference in the hope of obtaining there an agreement which, without infringing on the political and social regime established as the result of the revolution and intervention victoriously repulsed, would bring about not aggravation but improvement of the economic and financial situation of Russia and which would at the same time open the way to improvement of the economic situation of Europe. But such a result implied that the foreign Powers which had organized armed intervention in Russia would cease to hold toward Russia the language held between conqueror and conquered.

The Red Thread

IN every age the comfortable citizen takes fright and becomes indignant over ideas which seem to threaten the comfort of his mind or the stability of his possessions. Since it does not please him to ascribe these ideas to the necessary processes of thought, he derives them from the evil machinations of tribal or racial aliens and takes satisfaction in damning, at various times, the revolutionists of France, the thinkers of Germany, the communists of Russia, and, when all else fails, the conspiracies of Israel. If he but knew a little more he could be more fatalistic but also more cheerful. The ideas that he dreads are almost as old as the history of thinking man; yet their translation into action has been both gradual and fitful. The majority does indeed rule and he and his kind seem in no danger of losing their supreme advantage. Had Mr. Bryan read Lucretius he would be calmer; a pleasing quiet would steal into the hearts of the pleaders for propriety in a thousand pulpits did they but know how little mankind has heeded the instructions concerning love which the wise prophetess Diotima gave Socrates so many centuries ago.

But let us leave both the ancient and the alien and pick up the red thread of revolutionary ideas within the safe and proper field of our own civilization. Every schoolboy knows the essays of Francis Bacon; he also has it, on Macaulay's authority, that Bacon was a great thinker but a bad man.

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What neither he nor his elders know is the "Novum Organum." "It is idle," Bacon wrote there, "to expect any great advancement in science from the superinducing or engrafting of new things upon old. We must begin anew from the very foundations unless we would revolve forever in a circle of mean and contemptible progress." "Ah," comes the reply, "but he meant physics and geography." Listen a moment more to the old radical: "Men must force themselves to lay their notions by and begin to familiarize themselves with facts." The reddest "red" asks no more than that! Nor could he give a more stinging account of all he repudiates than Bacon did for him. "All the received systems are but so many stage-plays, representing worlds of their own creation after an unreal and scenic fashion." Nor must one comfortably suppose these old giants to have been unpractical or unwilling to touch, if they had had the means, the structure of society. A hundred years before the "Novum Organum" appeared, Sir Thomas More in the second book of his "Utopia," in an astonishing section called Of Science, Crafts, and Occupations, passionately advocated the universal obligation of productive labor and the six-hour working day. Twenty years after the "Novum Organum," again, John Milton on the floor of the Puritan Parliament thundered against a censorship of the arts with a fire and magnificence that are far to seek today and with grim humor—"lest I should be condemned of introducing licence, while I oppose licensing"—thought to demolish finally the arguments that seem to many at this moment as new as a new-cut tooth.

These things are known to few. Even when they are known the knowledge remains vague and academic and the documents are used in the schools not as records of experience but as exercises in style. Teachers and pupils both desire, first of all, to be comfortable. They need only their own instincts and not the grave John Locke to tell them that "man is not permitted without censure to follow his own thoughts in the search of truth, when they lead him ever so little out of the common road." Thus after nearly two centuries and a half since Locke finally settled the question in the third chapter of the "Essay on the Human Understanding," to assert the relativity of moral values is still indignantly held to be the chief of heresies.

The work of the Renaissance, in other words, far from being completed, has scarcely been begun. At the time of the French Revolution it had its hour of acceleration. Then a new and deeper hush prevailed. What pacifist has gone beyond the boy Shelley? "Man has no right to kill his brother. It is no excuse that he does so in uniform: he only adds the infamy of servitude to the crime of murder." What economic rebel has stated the fundamentals more clearly than he? "No man has a right to monopolize more than he can enjoy; what the rich give to the poor is not a perfect favor but an imperfect right." Is it any wonder that conservatives carefully built up the legend that Shelley was a divine poet but an irresponsible fool? To hear the preceptist critics you would think that Hazlitt had never written, to hear American democrats in solid clubs that neither Lincoln nor Whitman had ever lived. No, nothing is more difficult than to persuade men "to lay their notions by and begin to familiarize themselves with facts." Yet what a healing process that would be! It would enlighten a few; it would rob the many of that terror in the name of which they persecute and torment as wicked innovators those who but revive the half-forgotten wisdom of the race.

Chicago's War

THE labor war in Chicago is made to look very simple in the columns of the daily papers: murder *vs.* law and order; gunmen and thugs *vs.* the police; "bad" unions *vs.* the public—and the employer. An editor of the Chicago *Tribune* announces to the Advertising Council of the Association of Commerce that "a professional crime organization more powerful and sinister than the Camorra of Italy or the cabal of England must be crushed before the fight against lawlessness in Chicago can succeed." That indicates the outlines which the Chicago struggle is taking in the public mind. But, of course, such a picture is quite out of drawing. As in most wars, neither side is "right." Some of the officers of the Building Trades Council are undoubtedly men practiced in the criminal methods used by Brindell and his associates in New York. They are probably traitors to their followers, thieves, and men who, whether they are guilty or not of the charges standing against them, would connive at murder if their ends demanded it. Some of the officers are as surely honest and decent. In their industrial ideas both sorts are old-fashioned trade unionists without a gleam of vision or a touch of radicalism. The members of the building trades unions also vary. The majority of them are without doubt like too many American unionists conservative, undisciplined, violent, concerned deeply with their immediate demands, concerned not at all with underlying causes or with the fate of the rest of the working-class, easily misled, ignorant. If they are the despair of the Citizens' Committee in Chicago, they are equally the despair of the radical. Besides them, and overtaking them in numbers, is an active minority fighting for a new sort of industrial unity, developing new leaders.

On the other side of this uncivil war are the contractors and the powerful, rich Citizens' Committee which has taken on itself the task of supporting the Landis award against the Building Trades Council, and is now backing with all its resources the prosecution of the labor leaders under arrest. This committee and the less important building trades employers, shielded behind the sanctity of Judge Landis's decision, have been carrying on a campaign plainly calculated to arouse the public not only against the recalcitrant unions but against union labor at large. The press has manfully assisted in this job, and whether or not it is all a part of the general open-shop drive, as labor papers assert, it has had the effect of making an outburst of violence inevitable.

In commenting on this dismal situation the New York *Tribune*, under the heading Fruits of Fosterism, blames the whole business on the activities of W. Z. Foster, who has "campaigned for One Big Union," "incited unionists" to resist the Landis award, and in general misbehaved "until the tragedy came." This, for those who know, is funny, but it is too vicious and too indecent to laugh at. What the labor movement of Chicago needs is more Fosterism. It needs to get away from the petty factionalism which Foster has been fighting, and which the Landis award with its elaborate classification encouraged. It needs to rid itself of its selfish, conservative, gun-toting leadership. It needs the radicalism and vision and honesty which Foster is fighting for in Chicago. If Foster had "corrupted" a few more members of the building trades the present crisis would never have arisen.

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Ten Questions to the Secretary of State

THE HON. CHARLES E. HUGHES,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

We note in the late afternoon editions of the newspapers of May 8 and the morning papers of May 9 a statement ascribed to you in reference to an article published in *The Nation* by Henry G. Alsberg, entitled Mexico: The Price of Recognition, which the press accounts assert was denounced by you as false, and according to varying newspaper versions as a "most atrocious thing," "a batch of lies," and "a tissue of falsehoods." *The Nation,* as soon as this matter was called to its attention, issued the following statement in response to a request from one of the afternoon newspapers:

Mr. Alsberg stated in his article in *The Nation* that he was told in Mexico by a highly placed and authoritative person that among the demands made in State Department notes and proposals were those to which Mr. Hughes refers. He commented: "At any rate fair-minded persons, having in mind the record of our State Department in Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Central America, must demand that the mystery of our withholding recognition from Mexico be at last resolved and the full record made public. . . . The burden of proof is on our State Department; it should publish the entire correspondence, official and unofficial, with the republics to the south of us so that the American people may judge for themselves whether or not the charges made by responsible Mexicans are based on fact."

The Nation stands upon Mr. Alsberg's demand. . . .

We now respectfully, in view of your apparently unqualified though neither detailed nor specific condemnation of Mr. Alsberg's article, ask the following questions:

1. Did you or did you not propose as a condition of recognition of Mexico a modification, in favor of Americans, of the Mexican law according to the terms of which all foreigners are forbidden to acquire property in a certain restricted zone along the Mexican coasts and international boundaries?

2. Did you or did you not at any time propose as a condition of recognition that the Mexican law regulating the activities of the clergy of all denominations in Mexico be modified in favor of the American clergy?

3. Did you or did you not ever intimate in any way to the Mexican Government that the United States Government disapproved of the political tendencies of certain personalities in the Mexican Government?

4. Will you publish in full the proposed treaty offered Obregon as a condition of recognition last spring in the form then offered?

5. Will you publish in full all the notes and negotiations, official and unofficial, which led up to the formulation of this proposed treaty?

6. Will you also publish in full the "many" notes which the Washington dispatches in today's newspapers refer to as having been sent following the presentation of this proposed treaty of commerce and amity and up to date?

7. Will you publish all your negotiations with France and England, if any, in which the question of recognition of Mexico was discussed?

8. Will you publish in full all the negotiations and the agreement, if any, which preceded your recognition of the new Orellana Government in Guatemala?

9. Did you or did you not ever propose to the Mexican Government, as a condition of recognition, an agreement similar to that, if any, which was entered into with the Guatemalan Government above referred to?

10. Will you publish the names of your representatives, official, semi-official, and unofficial, in your negotiations with Mexico, together with the instructions given by you to them and their reports?

New York City, May 9 THE NATION

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION,
New York City.

DEAR SIR:

I am in receipt of your letter of May 9, 1922, in which you refer to my comment upon certain statements contained in an article by Henry G. Alsberg, published in *The Nation* of May 10, 1922, entitled Mexico: The Price of Recognition. In this article Mr. Alsberg states that he has been informed "by persons of the highest authority" that the State Department, while I have been in office, "has sent a series of notes to the Mexican Government, which, if acceded to, would have deprived Mexico of her standing as an independent nation." Mr. Alsberg further says that, according to his information, "some of the demands made by the State Department notes and proposals sent to Obregon since Mr. Harding's Administration were:

1. Supervision in some form of elections, or at any rate the assurance that so-called radicals, among whom were included some of the most prominent members of the parties now in power, should not be candidates for election;

2. A demand that all radical elements, including these same individuals, leave Mexico;

3. An exception in favor of American Protestant churches in Mexico permitting them to hold property and conduct schools. The fundamental laws of the country forbid any church to hold lands or conduct sectarian schools;

4. Recognition of all concessions and land grants given under Diaz, no matter how acquired;

5. Special rights to American capitalists over capitalists of other nationalities;

6. A demand that the old minority stockholders in the Mexican railways be given control of them, though the Mexican Government holds 51 per cent of the stock."

I stated to the press correspondents and now reiterate that no such demands have been made, and that the statement, on whatever information, that such demands have been made, is utterly false. It is true, of course, that as the Department speaks for American citizens we have asked protection of the valid titles of American citizens which had been acquired in accordance with Mexican laws, but this does not preclude, and rather anticipates, similar protection of citizens of other countries. I also remarked that these statements had been published without any inquiry at the State Department for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not they were accurate, and that it was a serious injury to our Government to give currency to such misinformation.

In commenting upon this statement which I felt compelled to make, you take occasion to address to me a series of questions, in which, among other things, you ask for the publication of the proposed Treaty of Amity and Commerce and also of the notes and negotiations, official and unofficial, both with respect to the recognition of the Mexican regime

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and also with respect to the recognition of the Orellana Government in Guatemala. Permit me to say that you cannot in putting such questions in any manner excuse the publishing of the inaccurate statements to which I have referred.

Your demand is quite another matter. I cannot at this time, in deference to the public interest of which in view of my official responsibility I must be the judge, make public the treaty and the negotiations to which you refer. When the appropriate time comes for their publication you will find there is nothing in them which has justified the statements you have published or that is inconsistent with the attitude I have publicly maintained. You have no right to make an assumption of the sort contained in the article to which I have referred, for I have already, in a public statement, defined the questions that are involved in the negotiations and have set forth the purposes which this Government seeks to achieve. I take pleasure in inclosing a copy of this statement, which was published on June 7, 1921.

Washington, D. C., May 10 CHARLES E. HUGHES

The Nation is very happy to record Mr. Hughes's positive statement that "no such demands" as those quoted in Mr. Alsberg's article have been made. It hopes that Mr. Hughes is right. Mr. Alsberg reported the demands only upon the most excellent authority. It is possible that Mr. Hughes is not aware what intimations have been conveyed by his representatives to the Mexican Government, and it is possible that spokesmen for another member of the Cabinet, Mr. Fall, for example, the former chairman of a Senatorial Committee on Mexico, have given the impression that they represented more than their own chief. At any rate, Mr. Hughes's sweeping denial should make it impossible for such demands to be repeated. For that we are grateful.

The Nation regrets that Mr. Hughes does not see fit to inform the American people of the course of the negotiations which he has been conducting in their name. His statement of June 7, 1921, was in its files when Mr. Alsberg's article was published; the editors had it in mind when they addressed to him the series of questions which his answers so completely evade. His letter in no way replies to those questions. It absolutely ignores *The Nation's* inquiries regarding his secret arrangement with Guatemala. It merely repeats his denial of some of Mr. Alsberg's charges and insists upon his right to conduct secret diplomacy. Mr. Alsberg's article asked for publication of the "entire correspondence, official and unofficial," regarding recognition of Mexico and Guatemala. There has been a deal of correspondence and a deal of semi-official hinting in the past twelve months. Mexican papers have repeatedly reported expulsions of Mexicans from Guatemala, charging that they were made upon the insistence of the United States. Is there any reason why the entire negotiations should not be made public as they take place or why they should be kept secret until the outcome is a *fait accompli? The Nation* does not believe that the American people, if they could speak directly on this issue, would tolerate this secret diplomacy. They are beginning to learn that the record of such secret diplomacy in Haiti, in Santo Domingo, in Nicaragua is a record of utilization of government machinery by selfish financial interests, and they do not like it. It is not only opposed to the fundamental concepts of American democracy, but contrary to what is supposed to be the spirit of the times.

Furthermore, an Associated Press dispatch of May 22, 1921, from Washington, reported that:

> A definite statement outlining the conditions upon which the United States would extend recognition to the Obregon Government of Mexico has been prepared for submission to President Obregon. This statement in the form of a memorandum, it was said tonight, will be delivered to President Obregon by George T. Summerlin, counselor of the American Embassy at Mexico City, who is expected to leave for Mexico this week.
>
> Among the conditions set forth are:
>
> Elimination of those provisions of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution relating to the nationalization of the subsoil rights in so far as they affect the tenure of land to which title was obtained prior to the adoption of the Constitution in 1917.
>
> Elimination of the provisions which deprive Americans of the right of diplomatic appeal in cases where property is acquired.
>
> Modification of the provisions which prevent Americans acquiring and owning property within a certain zone along the Mexican coasts and international boundaries.
>
> Assurance that Article 33 of the Constitution providing for the expulsion of "pernicious foreigners" will not be applied to Americans without the filing of charges and the opportunity of a fair trial.
>
> Modification of the provisions governing religious worship in such manner that American clergy shall have the right to exercise the functions usual in their denominations.
>
> It is also suggested that the two governments agree to the creation of a mixed court for the adjudication of claims.

Some of these demands closely parallel those reported to Mr. Alsberg. Mr. Hughes did not then deny them. Indeed Frederick Roy Martin, general manager of the Associated Press, stated, according to the *News Bulletin* of the Foreign Policy Association for May 12, 1922, that:

> When the special correspondents on May 23 made an attempt to have Secretary Hughes repudiate the Associated Press report from Washington, he refused to discuss it, and later when they made the same attempt with Under-Secretary Fletcher and Mr. Suydam, the publicity man of the State Department, the latter said to Mr. Fletcher in the presence of the correspondents, "The story stands up." Upon such information as we have, our Washington dispatch of May 22 appears to have been an accurate story.

The Nation does not understand Mr. Hughes's indignation in May, 1922, at statements which he refused to deny in May, 1921.

Nor can we refrain from protesting once more at Mr. Hughes's repeated frank assertion of right and intention to interfere in the property regime of Mexico. The United States has no more right to dictate to Mexico in what manner she shall revise her property laws, so long as they do not discriminate specifically against citizens of the United States, than foreign subjects would have to dictate to us the manner in which we free our slaves, or abolish the liquor business, or legislate against aliens in various States. If Mexico were more powerful we would not do it. This so-called protection of American property is sheer bullying and a shameful chapter in American history. The events are aggravated by Mr. Hughes's prompt recognition of the Orellana regime in Guatemala which, though corrupt, unscrupulous, and undemocratic, had this saving grace in State Department eyes: it was sympathetic to the speculative American financiers operating in Guatemala.

EDITORS OF THE NATION.

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On Trial: Officers' Reserve Corps

By M. H. HEDGES

CAN a member of the United States Officers' Reserve Corps oppose a policy of the War Department, and keep his commission? "No," say members of the corps of the 88th Division of the United States army, stationed at Minneapolis. "Yes," declare attorneys for Rev. Russell H. Stafford, pastor of the First Congregational Church, Minneapolis, 1st lieutenant and chaplain in the 313th Medical Regiment.

Is opposing military training in public high schools equivalent to opposing a government policy? "Yes," answer members of the Officers' Reserve Corps, who expelled Rev. Mr. Stafford from officers' mess, passed resolutions asking for universal military training in the public schools, and demanded surrender of Lieutenant Stafford's commission. "No," contend attorneys for the pastor-officer, themselves members of the corps.

Is the civil right of free speech endangered by a ruling that will forbid perhaps 300,000 reserve officers from criticizing government policies? "It is," declare Stafford's defenders, one of them lieutenant-governor of Minnesota, one a State official of the American Legion, and the third a member of the State legislature. "The question is irrelevant," respond members of the corps.

Does participation in a public program with radicals—principally members of organized labor—constitute conduct unbecoming an officer? "Certainly," charge officers. "Immaterial," say attorneys.

These are the contending opinions in the case of Rev. Mr. Stafford, which, informed persons declare, is destined to reach the United States War Department—in fact has already been laid informally before the Secretary of War—and may determine future policy of the Department. Data have been filed at headquarters of the seventh corps area, Fort Crook, Nebraska. On February 6, Rev. Mr. Stafford, at the invitation of the League of Women Voters, joined with representatives of more than fifty civic and religious organizations in opposing military training in Minneapolis high schools and spoke at a public hearing before the board of education. The hearing was in the nature of a debate.

Present at the hearing were officers of the 313th Medical Regiment, Dr. Stafford's regiment, stationed at the University of Minnesota. On the following day Rev. Mr. Stafford was called on the telephone by Colonel L. H. Baldwin, his commanding officer, and informed, according to Colonel Baldwin's own story, that Rev. Mr. Stafford had caused his commanding officer "acute embarrassment" by his remarks at the hearing, and requested to apologize. The apology in writing was straightway given—without a recantation of opinion, however. After a conference with Colonel H. O. Williard, then chief of staff of the 88th Division, with headquarters in a downtown office building, formal charges were preferred against Lieutenant Stafford which cited him as "guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer" by virtue of the fact that (1) he opposed a policy of the War Department; (2) passed himself as a reserve officer while opposing that policy; (3) associated himself with "an objectionable element in the community."

Rev. Mr. Stafford says that he is not against preparedness. He declares that in his opinion military training defeats its own purpose; that universal physical education is the only rational substitute for military drill given to only a limited number of students. Exact remarks of his to which reserve officers took exception were:

> The mechanical obedience which military training develops discourages initiative. . . . It does not cultivate the whole body; it does not cultivate resourcefulness; and for this reason it is not the best preparation for war. The American soldiers in France were generally recognized to be the best fighters over there, and military experts attributed it to the fact that America is a nation of play. . . . Furthermore, military training suggests a glamor of war, which everyone knows is the most disastrous error of civilization.

At the public hearing, R. B. Cramer, editor of the Minneapolis *Labor Review*, declared that a wife of a school director had on an afternoon prior to the debate told a woman's club that "we need soldiers in order to put the Socialists down." Cramer used this as an argument against training, urging that military forces are "notoriously hostile to organized labor." At this feeling ran high in the meeting and Cramer was challenged to name the woman, which he later did—publicly.

Appearing for advocates of military training was Rev. Marion D. Shutter, pastor of the Church of the Redeemer. Since the hearing Rev. Mr. Shutter has written, and Representative Walter Newton has caused to be published in the *Congressional Record* at Washington and sent out under the frank of the Government, a pamphlet called "The Army of the United States as a Constructive Force." In praise of the military, Rev. Mr. Shutter points to the record of the army in the "protection of life and property during those periods of violence when strikes ripen into defiance of the Government of the United States."

Colonel Williard told members of the investigating board that he considered the army one piece, its four branches—Regular Army, National Guard, Reserve Corps, and Officers' Training Corps in high schools and colleges—being coordinate, and that it was a misdemeanor for any member of any unit to oppose military training.

The Stafford case has broken Minneapolis into two opposing camps. Coherent public opinion favors the pastor officer, It is probable that members of the Officers' Reserve Corps regret the whole incident, and wish now that the question had not been raised. Conspicuous in Mr. Stafford's defense have been men who are usually called conservatives. The president of the Hennepin County Bar Association denounced the proceedings.

As the score stands public opinion is registered in the following three levels: Conservative: Rev. Mr. Stafford is misguided in his stand on military training but he has a right to express his views. Liberal: If he is found guilty and is relieved of his commission, wholesale resignations from the corps will ensue. Radical: The episode reveals a concealed military clique in this country, ramifying in every direction.

With this score, it looks as if the Army Reserve Corps and not the Rev. Mr. Stafford is on trial.

Contributors to This Issue

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Where Italy Stands

By CARLETON BEALS

Florence, Italy, April 26

A YEAR ago it was dangerous to walk the streets of an Italian city. Bullets would begin popping without warning in the busiest thoroughfares; armed lorries careened down the narrow, medieval *strade;* crowds gathered in the piazzas for mortal combat; royal troops turned their machine-guns over to rioters; the public buildings were occupied, sometimes for weeks; paving stones were torn up for barricades; pillage, arson, murder were the accepted means of expressing political opinion. In May of last year the train on which I was traveling from Milan was fired upon because it contained a squadron of Fascisti; in Bologna I witnessed the gutting of several cooperative stores by armed bands of Fascisti; and in Milan, Bologna, and Volterra I took refuge from bullets in the nearest doorway. Today violence has appreciably abated. Internal peace in Italy has been of slow, painful growth, but at last the roots seem to be taking hold. A survey of the Socialist and Fascista movements reveals a consistent reorientation toward constructive achievement rather than violence.

In the first post-war elections the vote of the Socialists trebled and the control of most of the municipal governments of the north fell into their hands. Even more significant was the rapid rise of powerful labor *sindicati,* most of which affiliated with the General Confederation of Labor. These *sindicati* were not slow in discovering, using, and abusing their power. They promptly voted themselves into the Third International of Moscow and in 1919 and 1920, with industry and the public service close to anarchy, the labor unions resorted to the most unreasonable demonstrations, calling strikes without notice and deserting trains miles from their destination. In September, 1920, they attempted to seize control of land and industry. But the workers promptly discovered that industry could not be run without raw materials, or a soviet state maintained in the face of a hostile Europe. The Controllo Act upon which the workers compromised guaranteed them advisory representation in the management of the factories, but this was never put in operation, although some *sindicati* have consistently maintained their power of intervention in the administration of industry. In certain farm districts workers' control was complete and enduring, having only been broken during the last few months by the Fascisti.

Since its disillusionment in 1920 the Socialist Party has rapidly receded from its revolutionary position. The first test of strength was precipitated by the Twenty-one Conditions of Moscow, and at the congress of Leghorn in February, 1921, a third of the membership seceded to form the Communist Party. The more conservative leaders, such as Turati and Treves, are now advocating collaboration with other parties and an assumption of a proportionate share of the responsibility of guiding Italy out of its present precarious condition. This question was fought out in the convention of Milan last October, where it was decided that the party should support any ministry of a liberal character. The number favoring actual collaboration with the Government has been rapidly growing.

A similar evolution has marked the Fascista activities. The movement has passed through four phases. At the outset, when the Fascista organizations were composed of *arditi,* or demobilized shock-troops, they were primarily concerned with the violent nationalization of Julian Venice, the annexed province, and were responsible for the seizure of Fiume. But when Italian foreign prestige was being lowered by the menace of revolution, they turned to internal affairs, hurling themselves upon the Communists and Socialists. In Milan I witnessed the burning of the new million lire headquarters of the Socialist Party, and similar depredations took place all over Italy. The Fascisti broke strikes, burned, looted cooperative stores, occupied public buildings, lynched labor leaders. Even after all danger of revolution had passed, Fascista violence continued to gain headway. But the elections of last July definitely registered public disapproval of violence. By June the directorate of the Fascista organization had signed a peace pact with the Socialists, and generally speaking violence has been diminishing ever since.

In November the Fascisti held a national convention in Rome and definitely constituted themselves a political party, and at present they are following a course which seems paradoxical. In Emilia, the Polesine, Bologna, Parma —all through the north—the landless peasantry have stampeded into the Fascista organizations. The factory workers are now following suit. An analysis of the Fascista membership presented at the Rome convention by Umberto Pasella, the secretary, showed that even then fully one-half the members of the organization were farm, factory, and marine workers.

As a result of these vicissitudes the principles of Fascismo are gradually crystallizing. Every act is, of course, oriented to nationalism. Mussolini, the president, an ex-editor of the Socialist *Avanti,* stated at a convention of agricultural Fascisti held in Emilia that the organization stands for the following general principles:

1. Opposition to the industrial state.
2. Abandonment by the state of all monopolistic enterprises (including the postal service) and a return to the sole function of political and juridical order.
3. Opposition to all internationalism.
4. The creation of a united, strong labor organization, self-disciplined and actuated by a sane idealism; this to have a strictly national character to offset the prejudicial effects of international proletarian solidarity.
5. The creation of peasant-proprietors.
6. The evolution of the Italian state into a true republican government.
7. Italian expansion in the Mediterranean and the world.

In view of the recent assimilation of proletarian elements, the labor program of the Fascisti is significant:

1. The promulgation of a state law which will establish the "legal" eight-hour day, with due reservations for agriculture and certain other industries.
2. Social legislation: old-age and infirm pensions, social insurance, etc.
3. Workers' representation in the management of every industry.
4. Workers' organizations that are morally worthy and technically capable to be intrusted with the management of their respective industries and branches of the public service.

It cannot be said that the relinquishment of violence by

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the extreme factions is due to any appreciable improvement in the industrial and economic situation. Rather the more powerful labor *sindicati*, such as the railway union, have bettered their conditions at the expense of less fortunate workers and the country at large. Yet the terrible maladjustment, due to hurried, injudicious demobilization and the cessation of war industries, has gradually disappeared. People are slowly settling down to the ordinary pursuits; little by little they are accustoming themselves to reduced standards of living.

Perhaps the health of Italian industries may be indicated by the trade balance. In 1914 there was an unfavorable balance of 1,200,000,000 lire which was covered by remittances from emigrants, by tourist expenditures, and by various other items. In 1919, estimated on the depreciated lire, the unfavorable balance amounted to eleven billion lire. This was largely met by the fortuitous granting of credit by American bankers. Last year the amount had been cut to eight billion lire, but exports were still one-half imports. Recent figures are unavailable. According to estimates made in December by the Minister of the Treasury, De Nava, this unfavorable balance will be cut in half.

This seems entirely too optimistic. While the exportation to the Balkans shows a consistent improvement, the favorable balance of 643,354,000 lire with France in 1919 has become, according to provisional figures, a deficit of over 250,000,000 lire. And as a matter of fact, Signor Belotti, Minister of Industry and Commerce in the Bonomi Cabinet, became so alarmed at the state of Italian commerce that he called a special conference in Milan during the early part of this year to discuss radical measures for stimulating trade. On that occasion he brought before the merchants and bankers the following facts: The Government is still disorganized; the postal service does not function with the least degree of efficiency; transportation suffers from high tariffs and a profound state of confusion; the ports of entry are left to the mercy of companies that operate irresponsibly and without regard for the national welfare; international facilities for trade are deficient or lacking; taxes and charges are excessive; red tape is burdensome and intricate; dishonesty and thievery are rampant in the customs and on the trains. Even more serious is the paralysis of industrial initiative. According to the *Polemica* of February, the number of industrial designs and models registered last year was 196 as compared with 342,522 in Switzerland and 174,966 in Germany. On the other hand, not a little of the loss in foreign trade is due to inept export regulations. Thus the producers of oil claim that the production last year amounted to 600,000 metric quintals more than the previous year, and that they could easily have produced 250,000 more. But even the normal exportation of 400,000 quintals was not authorized until the markets had been preempted by Spanish and French producers.

Perhaps even more serious than the state of industry is the transportation crisis. During the last year which the railroads remained under private ownership, they returned a profit of sixty-four million lire. From 1907 to 1914 this gradually sank under government ownership to twenty-eight million. In 1915, the year of the entrance into the war, a deficit of twenty-one million occurred, but during the two succeeding years, owing to the transportation of war materials, there was an apparent benefit to the treasury of four and fifty-seven million respectively. Today the deficit is over a billion lire—one of the heaviest charges on the Italian state—and the service is not improving. The railway workers are very powerfully organized and exert a constant control over the administration. All working orders must be approved by a 90 per cent majority vote of the workers affected, a rule that applies to such minute matters as the changing of the route or the hours of a train. At the same time the efficiency of the workers has steadily declined. Nevertheless, there is even more waste in the inconceivable meshes of bureaucratic red tape.

The condition of the post office is also serious. The deficit for the approaching year, according to the new budget, will be increased over 200,000,000 lire. Theft and carelessness make the service unreliable.

Behind all this is the shadow of the Italian debt and inflated currency. The pre-war debt was sixteen billion lire and this was excessive owing to the war with Turkey. The present national debt amounts to more than 110,000,000,000 lire with an annual interest charge of over five billion. This takes no account of the enormous debts running into hundreds of millions which the communes have contracted. According to the World Almanac the Italian debt reaches 18,100,000,000 dollars or 52 per cent of the national wealth. The paper circulation approaches twenty billion lire. Paper issued on behalf of the Government has been cut two billion lire—a net reduction of about seven hundred million. However, the pre-war circulation was but three and a half billion lire. The Italian Government cannot make its budget meet, although it has succeeded in reducing the deficit from eleven billion lire in 1920-21 to five billion in 1921-22. This will probably not include the amount being spent to replace the 60 per cent of the merchant marine destroyed in the war, or the billion and a half lire for reconstruction in devastated areas.

The gains Italy has made are largely gains in morale: the substitution of orderly progress for violence; the pursuit of a moderate foreign policy which has appeased the Little Entente and Jugoslavia, and which has avoided difficulties with the great Powers; an increase of postal savings to over eight billion lire; a progressive reduction in the budget; a strenuous effort to increase governmental efficiency and reduce expenditure through a reform of the bureaucracy. The great serious obstacles to a return to health are: Disorganized industry and transportation, a large unfavorable trade-balance, and the debt.

Blind Clay

By MARY FLEMING LABAREE

Bonaparte Johnson and Nero Katz
Sit in the shade and discuss doormats
(Cornhusk, fiber, and metal-meshed),
While men stalk death in Omsk and Resht.

His Grace of the Garter and tall Lord James
Sit in their club beside the Thames,
And prate of polo and cricket score—
By Nile and Ganges the Red fires roar.

His Grace and Katz must be blood-brother,
And Johnson and James must be each other.
Peer and plowman are one blind clay,
When their souls are born in a rut—and stay.

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The Opinions of Anatole France[1]

Recorded by PAUL GSELL

The French Academy

AS every election to the Academy approaches the candidates pay their prescribed visit to M. Bergeret. They know that he has not gone to that corner of the quays this many a year, and that he never votes. Nevertheless out of deference to his fame they solicit his vote. It is a touching custom which none seeks to evade, not even the reverend clergy. When Cardinal Cabrières, who was still only a Monsignor, but was soon to become His Eminence, craved a chair in the Academy, he called like the others at the hermitage of the Villa Saïd.

Old Joséphine, with her teeth of gold, ushered him in with every mark of respect.

"Sir," said the bishop brusquely, "I will admit to you frankly that I have not read your novels."

"Monsignor," replied France, with sacerdotal unction, "I must confess to you in all frankness that I have not read your decrees."

The ice having been broken in this way, the conversation became cordial. The prelate paternally reminded France that some great writers had sung the praise of the Almighty. He cited Chateaubriand.

France retorted that, in effect, the harmonious viscount had beautifully celebrated the decorative side of Catholicism, but above all he had dusted the furniture and polished the ecclesiastical plate, like a beadle or a chair attendant, and that, on the other hand, he had rather neglected dogma.

"He loved the majesty of the cathedrals and the splendor of the ritual pomps. But I, too, love them, Monsignor."

With a devout gesture he pointed to the golden stoles, the coruscating chasubles, the bright silver incense boxes, which were glittering in their glass cases.

"Chateaubriand venerated the sacred authors. I also feast upon them, Monsignor."

On the shelves of the library, in the place of honor, he showed him the Eagle of Meaux and the Swan of Cambrai dwelling happily together.

He looked as if butter would not melt in his mouth. Monsignor de Cabrières withdrew, convinced that, in some respects, the most fervent of believers would gain by taking lessons from Anatole France. . . .

[When Edmond Haraucourt was calling, as a candidate for election to the Academy, Anatole France said:]

"Most of the time, as you know, my dear friend, as well as I do, the elections are purely political."

"Yet, my dear Master, your own was not!"

"On the contrary, it was so more than any other. But the story is worth telling in detail.

"Ludovic Halévy, who loved me like a brother, kept constantly saying: 'Why sulk at the Academy? It is the thing to join. It looks well on the covers of one's books. Present yourself. Do it for my sake. I am ashamed to be an Immortal when you are not.' Well, the end of it was that I drew up my letter of application, and went to read it to him.

" 'Tut, tut!' said he, 'your letter is not in due form. Give it to me and I will arrange it properly.' And he deliberately inserted three or four fearful mistakes in French, which stood out like poppies in a corn-field.

" 'There,' he said, 'is the style required. But that is not everything. We must find out who will vote for you.'

"He drew up a list and proceeded to tick off a great number of names.

" 'Hm! Hm!' he muttered, 'it will not be easy. These damned aristocrats will make wry faces when they have to swallow you.'

"I began making my calls. Halévy directed operations. Every morning I received a note: 'Go to So and So! Call again on So and So!' All the time he was consumed with anxiety. Finally, one day when I saw him he was radiant.

" 'That's all right!' said he, rubbing his hands, 'we've got them!'

" 'Got whom?'

" 'The aristocrats! Listen. There are two seats vacant. The extreme Left of the Academy is putting you forward for one. The aristocrats have a candidate for the other, a worthy nobleman of ancient lineage, but an absolute illiterate. They will not find it easy to push him through.

" 'We said to them: "Do you want the extreme Left to vote for your nobleman? Then vote for the anarchist Anatole France. One good turn deserves another." "It's a bargain!" they agreed. I am delighted. Now call on the nobility. They have been warned. But for heaven's sake, don't talk politics or religion! Say: "What bright sunshine!" or: "It is windy!" "It is raining!" "It is drizzling!" Ask the lady of the house how her little dog is and her pet monkeys. The noblemen have been similarly instructed.'

"Everything turned out as he had foreseen. The anarchist and the nobleman were elected on the same day and by the same votes. It was quite shameless.

"But that is not all. There is a sequel.

"Among the votes promised to me, only one was missing, Henri de Bornier's. As this little act of treason was divulged, he tried to apologize to me.

" 'Dear Monsieur France,' he began, 'I did not vote for you.'

" 'I beg your pardon, Monsieur de Bornier, you did vote for me.'

" 'No. I did not,' he replied, somewhat taken aback.

" 'But you did. You are a gentleman, are you not, Monsieur de Bornier?'

" 'Certainly, but . . .'

" 'Have you not sung the praise of honor?'

" 'No doubt, but . . .'

" 'It is therefore impossible for you to have broken your word. You did vote for me, Monsieur de Bornier, you did.'

"He went off like a dog with its tail between its legs. . . .

"After all, what happens in the Academy is nothing new. Writers have almost always owed their success to politics."

"But," said Haraucourt, "you will have to admit that the charm and power of their style has had something to do with their fame."

"It is just possible, my friend, that our ideas on the subject have remained rather those of the classroom. When bespectacled and hide-bound old pedants at school made us

[1] The series of articles appearing under this title is translated by Ernest Boyd and will shortly be published in book form by Alfred A. Knopf.

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translate some Greek tragedy ('Œdipus at Colonus,' for example) they used to say: 'Note that charming second aorist. Observe the conciseness of that genitive absolute. The dignity of that optative is marvelous.'

"They used to din hundreds of similar remarks into our ears, until in the end we began to believe that it was the grammatical perfection of Sophocles which had aroused the enthusiasm of his contemporaries. But there was one point which our gerund-grinders overlooked, namely, that when Sophocles celebrated the name of Œdipus, the Theban hero whom the Athenians received with open arms when he was hooted by his own countrymen, the Greek dramatist's intention was to glorify Athens at the expense of Thebes, which had been its bitter enemy during the Peloponnesian war.

"Bearing that knowledge in mind we can easily imagine what the first performance of 'Œdipus at Colonus' was like, shortly after the death of the aged poet: the whole audience on their feet, interrupting every line with cheers, hissing the Thebans, and stamping in frantic applause for this eulogy of their city. And thus we discover the real reasons, the political reasons, for this enthusiasm.

"When our venerable pedagogues used to comment upon the 'Knights' of Aristophanes they would carefully analyze the parabasis and point out the commutation, the anapests, the macrom. And they taught us that this play was a perfect example of the style known as Old Comedy. But you will readily conceive that it had other attractions for the sailors of Piraeus. What delighted them was to see Aristophanes grabbing Comrade Cleon by the seat of the trousers. The performance was punctuated with laughs and shouts and slaps. I suspect things were pretty rough. In a word, it was politics.

"You will have to reconcile yourself to this, my dear Haraucourt. More often than not politics and literature merge into one. In Rome did not gentle Virgil do propaganda for Augustus? And in our own country did not the author of the Cid become, in spite of himself, the adversary of Richelieu? Is not his censorious Emilie a flattering portrait of the Duchesse de Chevreuse? Was Molière not the champion of the young king and the hard-working middle-class against the disturbed and dissatisfied nobility? People praise the irony of Voltaire, the sensitiveness of Diderot, the penetration of Montesquieu, the ruggedness of Rousseau. Their style is excellent. But would they have received so much praise if their works had not been inexhaustible arsenals of political argument? What about the bewildering word-juggling of Victor Hugo, the precious metal of his tinkling rhymes, his bold antitheses of black and white? Have they done as much for his glory as his invectives against Napoleon the Small? Nonsense, my dear fellow. You must admit that literature has very little to do with literary reputations."

"Well, *isn't that absurd?*"

"No, indeed. It is not so absurd. Do you think that it shows any superiority on the part of scribblers that they should isolate themselves in some little corner and fumble for words, rehash epithets, and polish phrases, without a thought for the world about them? I think it is rather an infirmity."

As he spoke, we thought of the part he played in the famous Dreyfus affair, still recent at the time, of his "Etudes d'histoire contemporaine," of the passionate harangues which he was constantly delivering at popular meetings.

"It is right," he continued, "for an author to feel the pangs of common humanity, and sometimes to intervene in the quarrels of the market-place. Not that I think he should fawn on any party or have a finger in the electoral pie. I expect him to preserve the independence of his spirit, to dare always to tell the truth, and to denounce even the injustices committed by his own friends. I want him to soar unfettered. I wish his opinions to be hard upon selfish interests, but usually regarded as chimerical, and that they shall have no chance whatever of being adopted for many a year. So far from spoiling his style, courage will render it more proud and virile.

"That, my dear Haraucourt, is why I do not consider the French Academy so culpable for taking part in politics."

"I beg your pardon, Master," said one of us, "it is wrong to take the wrong part."

France pushed his crimson cap onto the corner of his ear:

"Will you tell me what exactly distinguishes the right from the wrong side in politics? Oh, yes! I see. . . . Our friends are on the right side; other people are on the wrong."

In the Driftway

LET others sing of spring flowers and flappers; the Drifter loves the first warm days because they bring again to busy streets the children's songs and games and laughter. Which may or may not seem to the gentle reader a hifalutin way of confessing that one of the Drifter's favorite sports—at which he is no expert—is to listen to the odd rhymes and jingles that children say at their games. Where do they come from, how have they been so widely scattered? It was in a hot and crowded quarter of the city, peopled mostly by recent immigrants and their children, that the Drifter first heard the rhyme:

> John says to John, how much are your geese?
> John says to John, fifty cents apiece.
> John says to John, that's too dear;
> John says to John, get out of here.

A few weeks later the Drifter was in a quiet little country town in Pennsylvania. And on one of its peaceful streets he heard the same jingle shouted. These jingles and sayings, the Drifter is told by learned friends, often go back to ancient incantations, divinations, spells, and charms. "Thus," a recent English writer has said, "does the oral tradition of the ages hand on their human childhood to children who, happily, know not what they say." He cites as a characteristic doggerel of incantation the formula used for counting out in children's games:

> Eena, meena, mona, mi;
> Pasca, lara, bona, bi.

In America that jumble has been altered:

> Eenee, meenee, minee, mo;
> Catch a nigger by the toe.

It is reminiscent not merely of a forgotten age of charms and spells but of a very present racial arrogance.

* * * * *

SPEAKING generally, the doggerel with which the Drifter is familiar is conservative. Little girls who jump rope according to the ancient formulas to find out whom they'll marry, what they'll wear, what jewels they'll have, where they'll live, end by jumping to find out what they'll "ride in." And the words run: "Coach, wagon, wheel-

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barrow," repeated over and over until the jumpers miss. Yet most of these little girls at heart are really far more concerned with the choice between a Ford car and a Rolls-Royce than with coaches and wheelbarrows. The most modern means of transportation that the Drifter has heard mentioned in children's rhymes occurs in the following classic:

Mary Anna, Mary Anna, ha, ha, har,
Kissed her feller in the trolley car;
I'll tell Mar, she'll tell Par,
Mary Anna, Mary Anna, ha, ha, har!

Not exactly poetry nor beautiful, but nevertheless interesting. So far as the Drifter can discover, none of the children's rhymes is poetry. He does not think that out of the games of the streets will grow an appreciation of the treasures of literature, but he knows more than one person like himself to whom even in drab surroundings the children's doggerel brings joy and laughter and the memory of far-off, half-forgotten things which are not wholly gone because they are not wholly forgotten. THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

C. S. *vs.* C. O.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I read with interest the letter of Wallace Keith in your number of April 26 in which he states that in the late war "Christian Science steadfastly refused to prostitute itself into an agency for the spread of hate propaganda and the glorification of armed violence." As one who watched with fervent desire though forlorn hope the course that Christian Scientists took at that time I must say "Not so that you could notice it." I never heard of a Christian Scientist who was a Conscientious Objector and who said "My faith in God and my love for my fellow-man prevents me taking part in the wholesale murder of my brothers."

That, however, is past and gone and I for one would let bygones be bygones, but there is today a very definite piece of work in which any and every sincere Christian Scientist can take part, and that is the work for the release of all the war prisoners in the United States who number 113. Beside their teaching of the active force of love they have also such solid reasons as the following: (1) All other countries have released their war prisoners; (2) peace has been declared and the Espionage Law under which they were all convicted has been repealed; (3) in every case where industrial counts played a part in conviction such counts have been reversed by the United States Court of Appeals, so that each of the 113 men is now in jail solely for his opinions.

May we all of whatever faith or creed work to see this blot removed from our country's record. From those who profess much, much should be expected. Christian Scientists, fall in line! CHARLOTTE ANITA WHITNEY

Oakland, California, April 30

Indentured Labor

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: En route to Melbourne, I have just called at Honolulu and Fiji. At Honolulu I found that efforts were being made to obtain permission of Congress to import 5,000 Chinese coolies, the same to be indentured for five years. At Fiji I found that the sugar planters were in a peck of trouble over the imported Indian coolies, who, now 61,000, had been imported by indenture for the past twenty years.

May I say that the indenture plan has been abandoned as a failure? The Australians and South Africans have tried indenture labor and also abandoned it. So far as I can learn it has no advocates. Importation of indentured labor degrades labor, lowers living conditions, introduces immoralities unspeakable, and awakens racial strife. It doesn't work as the promoters expect it to work.

I write this so as to protest through your columns against Congress permitting such importation of labor. The people of Hawaii would be the first to be sick of it.

While writing, let me send my appreciation of your recent reference to conditions in Pango Pango and our treatment of the natives. There should be an investigation. An Indian deputation of four is on this steamer returning from investigating conditions in Fiji.

S.S. Niagara, April 6 SYDNEY STRONG

Frankly Cynical

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I want to thank you very much for the review given me in your issue of May 3. I am certain this will result in selling a number of the books, which is what I want to do, in order that the American public may be properly educated regarding Latin America.

How in the world did you omit some reference to the picture showing Jesus as a bartender or from alluding to the fact that the Holy Catholic church in Peru owns a spring and advertises the water coming therefrom as "Jesus Water"?

Again thanking you for your efforts in my behalf,

New York, May 2 W. E. AUGHINBAUGH,
Foreign and Export Editor N. Y. *Commercial*

George Wythe

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Professor Oscar M. Shewmake of the College of William and Mary is engaged in the preparation of a life of George Wythe, signer of the Declaration of Independence, first professor of law in the College of William and Mary, and the first professor of law in the United States, and for many years chancellor of Virginia. Professor Shewmake wishes information in regard to letters written by Wythe and to letters received by him that may now be in private hands. Information sent to the undersigned will be gratefully appreciated.

Williamsburg, Va., April 27 E. G. SWEM,
Librarian, William and Mary College

Life in a Texas Prison

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I inclose an appeal for books from the prisoners of Huntsville, Texas, penitentiary, whose library was recently destroyed by fire. If you can possibly run a request that the readers of *The Nation* send them what books they can spare they will greatly appreciate it. Life in a Texas prison is, at the best, worse than a living death.

St. Louis, May 11 COVINGTON HALL

President Harding and the Children

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Nothing that I have ever read in any periodical ever brought tears to my eyes until this was done by The Children's Amnesty Crusade in your May 10 issue; I am sending a copy to a German friend who benightedly imagines America is a free country.

Detroit, May 15 T. SWANN HARDING

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The Bell

By JAMES RORTY

On the day that I stopped begging at the heels of life—
On that day, as I sat on a high hill, looking at the sun,
I heard a bell strike far up in the sky, and my heart swelled,
And into my heart with laughter came trooping the lovely
young-wise children of the wisdom of the earth.

Years had passed before that day; each year the circling
seasons found me sad and mournful in the same place.
The fifes of spring played to me, the green grass cried to
me, but I would not dance;
The winds of autumn tugged at me, but I would not sail;
Love found me frightened, questioning, and swept on.

In terror I fled to the schools, and pulling at the philosopher's
beard, asked why, and why?
I listened respectfully to the wheeze and clatter of the
editor's office;
I slept through the professor's lecture and humbly knew
that I must be respectful, even while I slept;
There was not a drum beaten or a tambourine clashed anywhere
but I was there, beating time, beating time.

Until one day I heard a sweet bell pealing, far in the blue
sky pealing, pealing;
And into my heart with laughter came trooping the lovely
young-wise children of the wisdom of the earth.

It is long since I have seen the philosopher, but my laughing
heart tells me he is still drawing triangles in the
sky.
Having business elsewhere, I left the editor pleasuring in
the midst of his favorite indignations.
Sitting at the foot of a stone, listening to the blue jays
squalling wisdom in the trees, I could find a pension
in my heart for every professor in the world.

On the day that I stopped begging at the heels of life, lo,
The brown-robed mother of the western hills taught me
quietness;
The blue-eyed mother of waters taught me peace.
Love shall have his toll of me; I have honey for every bee
and seeds for every winging bird.

The Roving Critic

HAMLIN GARLAND almost alone among novelists spent years in furnishing the documents for what he had to say and then continued his evidence by distilling it into a work of art which was more personal than his previous books had been; and with a singularity which he can hardly have designed he cast his documents in the form of fiction and his distillation in the form of autobiography. Now, having summed up his most precious contribution in his "Son" and "Daughter of the Middle Border," he goes back again and re-collects the evidence in the Border Edition (Harper: 12 vols.) of his tales and novels. How far he considers them as documents appears from his new introductions, in which he hardly mentions his problems of opinion or technique but instead points regularly to the background of each story, explains his interest in it, and makes the modest claim that he was faithful. In "Rose of Dutcher's Coolly," indeed, he says he meant to show "that love is not necessarily and in every case an all-absorbing factor in a woman's life and that she can have a career in spite of the deterrents and complications which come from courtship and marriage"; and elsewhere he asserts that "without some significance, the writing of a love story has never seemed quite worth while to me." But he sounds more characteristic when he says that "just as in the 'Captain of the Gray Horse Troop' the life of an Indian reservation supplies the sociologic setting, and the mountains of Colorado gave weight and dignity to 'Hesper,' so the Forest Service (with its duties, dangers, and gorgeous vistas) makes 'Cavanagh' something more than a mere novel of adventure." Mr. Garland views himself as primarily an historian.

He is an historian of importance—the most important one who has used fiction to present the shifting panorama of the upper Middle West and the Rocky Mountains. It must be reiterated, however, that he is not always equally important. As he goes further west something grandiose creeps into his work. He who gave the best of his early books such honest titles as "Main-Travelled Roads" and "Prairie Folks" could give to the volume which he now thinks of as a complementary document the tip-toed title "They of the High Trails." Is it because the mountains were actually grander than the prairies? Not altogether. It is also because Mr. Garland was native to the prairies and only a visitor among the mountains; one was bread to him, the other wine; and he took less naturally to intoxication than to nourishment. Much of the stuff of life as may be found in the "Captain" and "The Eagle's Heart" and "Mart Haney's Mate" (originally "Money Magic"), and much of the thrill of wonder, there is actually more of both in that lucid masterpiece of reminiscence "Boy Life of the Prairie" and in "Main-Travelled Roads," which acquaintance does not stale nor imitation dim. Less for the reason that he was more polemic in these first books than for the reason that he was more impassioned do they now ring truer than the mountain romances. He had been spattered by prairie mud and beaten by prairie winds and burned by prairie suns in his lyric years so that the cry of his deeper mood sounds in his Middle Border sagas; his rage was economic—but so was it poetic. Other romancers have done as well as he with the mountains; in the Middle Border he, who invented the name for it, still has no rivals so far as its historical aspects are concerned. Just now there is another generation given to exposing the intellectual shortcomings of that border. By comparison with these censors Mr. Garland seems, at times, naive. Yet it is the large naivete of the pioneer, and it may be, at times, the large naivete of the classic.

WHAT a change has come over the frontier is pointed out by Ralph Chaplin in a poem in "Bars and Shadows" (Leonard Press)—a volume of graceful verse by a man still preposterously kept in Leavenworth for his opposition to the war in 1917:

Your fathers, golden sunsets led
To virgin prairies wide and clear—
Do you not know the West is dead?

Now dismal cities rise instead
And freedom is not there nor here—
What path is left for you to tread?

Your fathers' world, for which they bled,
Is fenced and settled far and near—
Do you not know the West is dead?

Your fathers gained a crust of bread,
Their bones bleach on the lost frontier;
What path is left for you to tread—
Do you not know the West is dead?

CARL VAN DOREN

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Books

A Book of Facts From Soviet Russia

Dyela i Dni. Istorichesky Zhurnal: 1920. Kniga pervaya. Deeds and Days: A Historical Review for 1920. Book I. Petrograd.

A RARE treat—real, indubitable facts emanating from red Petrograd, in the shape of a bulky tome of historical data collected by a galaxy of historians and archivists. Here one breathes the clear air of academic neutrality, of scientific investigation "sine ira et studio." After four years of a specific literature of "decrees," "theses," and of Chicherin's "notes," the student of crystallized values welcomes this proof of the existence of other than political activities of the contemporary Russian mind. The volume of "Dyela i Dni" contains, in addition to scholarly investigations and important documents, an illuminating survey of the intellectual life in Petrograd of today.

It is gratifying to meet names of established scholars among the contributors to this volume. One would give much to see there the names of Miliukov, Rostovtsev, and of other exiled professors, whose service to the nation in their respective academic fields would be universally acclaimed. Indeed, Russian research-scholars have never before been so favorably situated as under the Soviet regime—at least in one sense: the accessibility of material. For the first time public and private archives have been handed over to a body of specialists, who are engaged in the preservation of the existing treasures and in the sorting and publishing of the discovered material. Students of Russia are thus enabled to fill the numerous important gaps in their knowledge, gaps that had been deliberately created by official secrecy and censorship.

Besides historical investigations by such men as Shakhmatov, Rozhkov, Platonov, and others, the Review contains a wealth of raw material, in the form of "reminiscences, memoirs, diaries, correspondence." The mysteries of czaristic Russia are sacrilegiously turned into the possession of the vulgus. The impression these revelations may produce is not unlike that made by Andersen's urchin who declared that the king was naked. The imperial Alexanders, Konstantins, and Nikolases become intimate Sashas, Kostyas, Kolyas, and appear human, all too human. The all-powerful ministers display their quotidian pettiness, selfishness, and blindness. For example, General Sukhomlinov, the notorious Minister of War until the middle of June, 1915, displays in his diary a curious combination of callousness and sentimentality. For the history of the last war the following entries are significant:

"July 29, 1914. Mobilization of four districts: Kiev, Moscow, Kazan, and Cdessa. At midnight the Emperor telephoned to have the mobilization stopped; he received a reassuring telegram from the Kaiser. I reported to His Majesty that to stop would be equivalent to recalling the order; that this would confuse all our plans; that if another mobilization should presently be needed, it would require one or two months. For the verification of my report, I asked H. M. to inquire by telephone of General Yanushkevich, Chief of the General Staff. Half an hour later Yanushkevich telephoned the order *to stop the mobilization,* and asked for my instructions. I requested to do nothing till morning."

"July 30. *The mobilization has not been stopped.* Received a telegram from our ambassador at Berlin about the German mobilization. Our full mobilization is declared."

"July 31. First day of the general mobilization. Lord bless us! Germany has declared us an ultimatum."

The general possesses strong nerves. With the same coolness with which he plunges the world into war, disobeying his imperial master, he records the disastrous defeats of the Russian armies, interspersing his remarks with sentimental references to the weather, the spring sun, summer rain, southern wind, and to military parades and religious services. His dismissal he regards as a result of political intrigues, and finds consolation in—angling, rhapsodizing over lucky catches, and stating minutely the weight of his piscatorial trophies.

Among the documents unearthed from various departmental archives, particularly interesting are those relating to the last days of Tolstoi. One learns how closely the official church watched the dying sage. Though excommunicated, Tolstoi continued to be hunted by the clergy, spied upon, and even exhorted and admonished to repent and return to the church. One also learns of the tragic incompatibility between Tolstoi and his wife, which became in the end unbearable for him and prompted him to the dramatic flight from Yasnaya Polyana. These documents are invaluable for the full understanding of Tolstoi's complex personality.

The volume contains an interesting department of book reviews, largely of an historical and sociologic nature. One thing appears certain from these: that in spite of all Russia is far from intellectual pauperism. This certainty is further strengthened by a reading of the long chapter under the title Chronicle, which gives an account of the cultural activity in Petrograd only, during the year 1920. Notwithstanding the intellectual blockade imposed on Russia by the world, the Petrograd intelligentsia has been vigorously active in saving the national mind from stagnation. Professors, writers, artists, even priests, have cooperated in spreading knowledge and in keeping art and science alive and creative. The Chronicle gives an imposing description of courses and single lectures on all subjects, from science to theology, arranged at the Academy, at the University, and at other educational institutions; of scientific expeditions and investigations; of literary and artistic undertakings. True, one must admit that in volume and scale this activity is puny when compared with the prerevolutionary days. But it certainly requires more idealism and perseverance on the part of its performers.

With epic calm the Chronicle enumerates the deaths of scientists and educators from cold and hunger. The loss of cultural workers, which Russia has suffered within the last four years, is staggering. For the sake of impartiality one should state that the administration of Petrograd is not altogether blameless for the decimation of the intellectuals in the northern capital. The volume here reviewed was printed in the Second State Typographic Shop, hence was censored by the proper Commissariat. Now we read in the Chronicle as a matter of course that the members of the Academy could not perform their scientific work efficiently, not only because of lack of food and fuel, but also because they had to perform the functions of janitors, cooks, and watchmen. The death of such lights as academicians Lappo-Danilevski, Dyakonov, Turayev, Shakhmatov, and of Professor Vengerov is ascribed directly to starvation and physical overwork. The number of these victims cannot be computed as yet.

That the leaders of the Petrograd proletariat failed to appreciate the value of intellectual workers could be evident from an appeal by Maxim Gorki, in which he found it necessary to voice such truisms as these:

"The fundamental wealth of a country consists in the amount of wisdom, the amount of intellectual forces raised and accumulated by the nation. . . . If we should force the skilful metalworkers to clean cesspools, if a jeweler should begin to forge anchors, and the chemist should be driven to dig trenches—it would be not only stupid, but also criminal. . . . The list of scholars who died in the last few months shows how great has been the loss of mental energy in our land. If this process of the dying out of our scholars continues at the same rate, our country may become completely brainless. . . . In these difficult days the life of the scholar is terrible in its physical conditions and is painful morally, for it is hard for a person who feels strong enough to lift a mountain to be deprived of the possibility of lifting even a handful of sand. . . . When on the road to great scientific discoveries . . . stands such a dis-

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graceful obstacle as the lack of light for work, as cold and hunger—then it is a crime."

In the light of these circumstances the energy and courage of the Petrograd intellectuals appear heroic. In the face of physical privation and moral humiliation they did not lower the torch. To think of the numerous volumes written by scientists and artists—with little prospect for seeing them in print! To think of the "Almanack Evenings," where the best writers of prose and poetry would gather and read their newest works, unable to print them! Were it not for their inner creative flame, the Russian intellectuals would have long been dismayed and disheartened. Academician Lappo-Danilevski, who died of starvation, delivered in 1916 a few lectures on Russian science at Cambridge. Before starting for England he said to a colleague—and his words may be applied to the Russian intelligentsia as a whole:

"I see clearly how through all the scientific work of Russian scholars of whatever field there runs one mood, one feeling, one thought: their work is knit with life, with what we in Russia call an 'idea'; for the Russian scientist there is no knowledge outside of life and without life."

ALEXANDER KAUN

Youth Grows Old

Youth Grows Old. By Robert Nathan. Robert M. McBride and Company. $1.50.

WHEN Robert Nathan's second published novel, "Autumn," appeared last fall, it met an appreciative critical reception on the ground that it was a reaction to, or revolt against, the trend of contemporary fiction. At that time I sensed in the author aloofness rather than any spirit of revolt; to me he appeared an incurious figure on the river bank, not an up-stream swimmer. And so in the poems composing "Youth Grows Old" I find no purposeful return to the old forms, no self-conscious utterance of accepted and long-applauded emotions regarding the succession of youth by age, the sequence of spring and autumn, the inevitable fate of last year's roses. The poet has sung these songs because, by temperament and thought, they are rightly his; not because of any considered reaction. And because these songs are his, because he is emotionally honest, the verses of Mr. Nathan escape the charge which Petit the Poet leveled against his own iambics:

"Seeds in a dry pod, tick, tick, tick,
Tick, tick, tick, like mites in a quarrel."

On its jacket, "Youth Grows Old" is announced as spiritual and emotional autobiography. At the outset the tone of this personal record is fixed when the poet writes of himself:

"He lives on pain, and sells his utter
Grief for roses, bread, and butter."

This couplet is a whimsical key to the sequent volume. Mr. Nathan sells his utter grief, to be sure; but all the while he is passionately in love with grief. He luxuriates in a sensuous melancholy; he opens his arms wide to sorrow.

"Love is the first thing.
Love goes past.
Sorrow is the next thing.
Quiet is the last.

"Love is a good thing.
Quiet isn't bad,
But sorrow is the best thing
That I've ever had."

The poet is not pessimistic; he is melancholy. Pessimism is the fruit of observation and experience; melancholy is temperamental. The pessimism of Edwin Arlington Robinson, for example, represents an intellectual decision, a defensible decision; Robert Nathan's melancholy is an instinct, calling for no defense. To continue a comparison—which is temperamental not poetic—Mr. Robinson's first volume, "Children of the Night," revealed a poet struggling against his blackest moods; "Youth Grows Old" shows its author reveling in moods which are not black but subdued gray. Robert Nathan hails sorrow as "old mother"; and in his most effective sonnet, which begins "I am no stranger in the house of pain," the poet seeks the solace of returning to his mother's knee, saying:

"For I've a story to amuse your ears,
Of youth and hope, of middle age and tears."

The poems are linked together by running heads which fulfil the function of program notes, a device anticipated in Robert Frost's "A Boy's Will." So we read: "Proem: The Poet apologizes for himself. . . . He is oppressed with a sense of loneliness. . . . The poet describes his love. . . ." This device lends an adventitious unity to a volume which is fundamentally coherent; for the book is, like "Autumn," the product of a sustained mood. This mood is lightened by whimsical interludes, in which the poet is wholly original and at his best; and this mood is lifted, at times, by singing, lyric lines:

"Oh heart, heart, heart, are you weeping for the west,
For roses, and birdsong, and salt sea foam,
And the clear green sky with the moon upon her breast
Like a ship, like a sail, like a lugger going home?"

"Youth Grows Old" is a volume to which the adjective delightful is advisedly applicable. Never was sorrow paraded so seductively. "Autumn" was welcomed by many as poetic prose. In verse, Mr. Nathan is a sweet singer, a conscientious craftsman who knows how to weave words into fair patterns, an economist as he is in prose. Because "Youth Grows Old" is not a great book, because it is gentle, fragile, and graceful, it is a book to cherish.

BEN RAY REDMAN

Sin in France

Calvary. By Octave Mirbeau. Translated by Louis Rich. Lieber and Lewis. $2.

Mr. Antiphilos, Satyr. By Remy de Gourmont. Translated by John Howard. With an Introduction by Jack Lewis. Lieber and Lewis. $2.

THE most casual reader has no difficulty today in detecting the violent romanticism of Zola and the Zolaists. Rereading "Le Calvaire" in this vigorous though often incorrect version takes one into a literary atmosphere that has, for all the enormous difference in matter and attitude, whiffs of Dickens as well as whiffs of "Wuthering Heights." The boyhood of the hero is thickly and darkly romantic in a fashion that has survived in France much later than anywhere else. But most romantic in Mirbeau and his fellows is the pursuit of sin for the sake of its sinister beauty and Satanic lure—the central motif of Baudelaire—which goes back to Byron and E. T. A. Hoffmann and dozens of minor men and books of the early nineteenth century.

Today that whole attitude and method seems remote and amusing. It has retired, among us, to the pages of the detective yarn and is coldly revamped for adolescents by the imitators of Gaboriau. Into the world of the adolescent mind and imagination it always fitted best. For this vision of sin is the vision of those who seem never to have tried it at all, like the monstrous things that Mirbeau described, without ever having come within a thousand miles of them, in his well-known "Le Jardin des Supplices." It is all romance, all hectic vision. And indeed Mirbeau ends by admitting, as Zola did in "Nana," that his Juliette Roux is not a woman at all but a symbol of the sin of the world.

Accepting "Calvary" frankly as a romance gives one a higher sense of its sweep and vigor; as an account or interpretation of reality it is of small account. What it, as well as many other works of its kind, gives us today is a strong impression

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of the essential orthodoxy of the romantic-naturalistic mind. The Satanists believed and trembled. They were like children saying bad words; they believed in the blasphemousness of their own blasphemies and took good care to repent and be shriven after they had had a very good time of the gruesome sort and achieved many editions. Like the monks of Egypt they took woman as the fountain and symbol of evil and drove the glittering nails of their own morbidness and terror into one Nana or Juliette after another.

The development of the French novel left them definitely in the blind alley they had chosen and took the road cleared by Flaubert and the Goncourts. Even Bourget has nothing of the moral medievalism of Mirbeau; Maupassant cultivated the moral detachment of a man of the world blended with that of a man of science; the great ironists and skeptics—Anatole France and Remy de Gourmont—transcended moralism, anti-moralism as well as conscious detachment. They passed, if not beyond good and evil, at least beyond all these concepts of good and evil, and undertook to envisage the world anew.

For this purpose they employed various imaginative devices, one of the favorite being the assumption of an extra-Christian—usually the Hellenic—point of view. That is what Gourmont did, too, in his delicately incisive fable of Antiphilos, the satyr. He lets the modern world of morals pass under the eyes of a faun and the significant things are not so much those that the faun sees as those he does not see at all, since there is nothing in the world of nature to correspond to these torments and distresses. The fable thus constructed is as beautiful as clear water, and the translation of Mr. Howard does not muddy that clearness unduly. L. L.

The Later Quakers

The Later Periods of Quakerism. By Rufus M. Jones. The Macmillan Company. 2 vols. $8.

A CENTURY ago there lived, in a bit of a New Hampshire town, a Quaker named Gideon Bean. When one of his neighbors fell ill it was never long before the venerable man in Quaker garb came to the house. Seating himself beside the bed, with head bowed on his staff, he would await in silence a word from the Lord. If he finally spoke there was great joy in that house, for all believed that the patient would certainly recover; but if Gideon Bean arose and left the house in silence it was taken as a word of death. The scene speaks first to the imagination, but afterward to the intellect. We would know more about this strange man and how he came to be what he was. Doubtless the records of the village give the dates of his birth and death, and local tradition still preserves many an anecdote concerning him, but we are interested in his spiritual history. The austere man, his queer dress and speech, his silent waiting upon God, and most of all the power of insight and foresight with which he believed himself gifted, while his neighbors believed it perhaps even more than he did—what does all this mean?

It is to answer just such questions as these that Rufus Jones of Haverford has been engaged for years upon a series of books which he has now brought to a remarkably successful close in his two volumes "The Later Periods of Quakerism." In these six books, all but two of which he himself has written, Mr. Jones has traced the stream of Christian mysticism from its Neo-Platonic source to George Fox, and thence on has studied minutely the history of the Friends as a single phase of mystical progress. There is excellent reason for thus concentrating attention upon the followers of Fox, for they stand for something unique in the history of mysticism. In them we have the one and only case within Christianity of a corporate mysticism, a more or less isolated group of mystics which has maintained a society life through several generations, the experiences of which are therefore of extraordinary interest. Theoretically, all mystics are individualists through and through, born and not made, and among Friends the long-continued practice of marrying only within meeting would certainly tend to perpetuate and increase the mystical strain with its accompanying individualism. Nevertheless, under a rigorous discipline which accentuated superficial characteristics and formed the Friends into a "peculiar people," a remarkably strong group consciousness was created which, aided by written and oral communications—letters missive in the one case and traveling preachers in the other—corrected individual aberrations and eccentricities and produced an altogether exceptional unity of testimony. This is the aspect of Quakerism to which Mr. Jones returns again and again, and with justice, for it is the principal contribution which Friends make to the history of mysticism. In the two volumes immediately before us he shows how loss of living faith in the inner light, due mainly to the penetration into the Society, notwithstanding its isolation, of influences from the Wesleyans and the Evangelicals, shifted the emphasis from direct illumination to Scripture, from inner experience to an objective scheme of salvation, and so caused divisions in the once united body but at the same time awakened social and philanthropic interests under the leadership of which the severed fragments now give promise of returning into unity. These divisions the author treats, on the whole, with sympathy and fairness, yet it is perfectly clear on which side he stands, and one who is familiar with the somewhat juiceless journal of Elias Hicks can but feel that the impression which it makes as to the personality of the man is rather more favorable than that made by Mr. Jones. Not that there is perversion or serious omission, only it does make a considerable difference on which side of a *yet* or *but* faults and defects are arrayed.

Naturally, the history is of particular interest to Friends, who will dwell upon details which other readers will pass over pretty lightly, yet proportions are well maintained—remarkably well, all things considered—and those who are interested in the principles which underlie religious experiences as well as all students of Christian history will find the volumes of the series richly rewarding. For the story of the Friends may justly be regarded as a replica in miniature of the history of Christianity itself. Each began as a mighty impulse of joyous enthusiasm; each was led by the very exigencies of the situation to develop forms of thought, practice, and organization which laid bonds upon the free spirit and checked spontaneous expression; each passed through periods during which the great ideals of the founders faded into forgetfulness; and in each we find today a revival of those ideals in the changed conditions of the present with happy promise for the future.

Moreover, the Friends have much to teach the religious life of today. Will the Christian ideals of love as the law of life, and the effective power of good to overcome evil, work in the world that now is? Perhaps the story of the Friends does not fully answer the question, for usually they have been protected within a militant nation, but at least their experience throws light upon the problem. And when it comes to forms of worship, one who cannot abide the "short, snappy, sacred" type of religious meeting which flaunts as its ideal "something doing every minute," thinks wistfully of the living silence (there is vast difference between a living and a dead silence) during which Friends are still and know that God is and that His word still comes to waiting souls. W. W. Fenn

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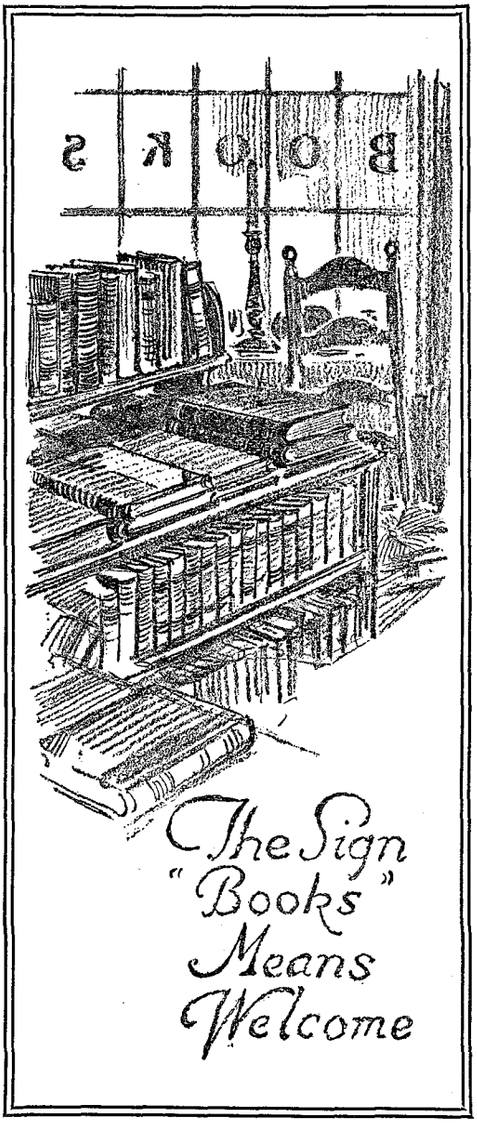

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Max Beerbohm in Perspective. By Bohun Lynch. Knopf. $3.50.

A pleasant survey of a beguiling man of letters, who has refused any immediate help to his biographer but who by his three decades of persistency in whim has made some book or other about him an irresistible temptation.

The Unspeakable Gentleman. By J. P. Marquand. Scribner. $1.75.

Is this, as is suggested, one of the heralds of the threatening revival of historical romance? Very likely. But if so, it seems to hint that the new romance will be as given to artifice, posture, eloquence, and swank as ever the old was. Mr. Marquand is a grandson of Dumas, a son of Stevenson, a brother of the Booth Tarkington who wrote "Monsieur Beaucaire." His hero is as impossible as he is unspeakable—and of course he turns out to have been noble all along.

The Whistler Journal. By E. R. and J. Pennell. Lippincott. $8.50.

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After the War: A Diary. By Charles à Court Repington. Houghton Mifflin. $5.

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Drama

Aftermath

A BEAUTIFUL epilogue and harmonious close to the theatrical season is provided by the Walt Whitman Festival, "Salut au Monde," at the Neighborhood Playhouse. The verses of Whitman, which have here an iron and a timeless music, serve to introduce to the eye of the body the visions which he beheld with that of the imagination alone. Nothing would have been easier here than tawdriness or excess. Both dangers are avoided as well as the fluttering thinness that seems to cling to pageantry. All is grave and beautiful and full of life; all is tangible and precise. The immemorial rituals of mankind are represented with astonishing felicity. You are within and beyond them at once; you share the inner experience of each; you share it from a vantage-point that gives perspective without obscuring the vision. The score of the late Charles T. Griffes is descriptive and atmospheric. But it has concrete musical value throughout. It is eloquent and never drifts off into the formless or hazy. The Festival dancers of the Playhouse, whose rhythms of motion have been a little heavy and uncertain hitherto, achieved on this occasion a firmness within grace and steadiness within lightness that are altogether admirable.

The Theater Guild's last production of the season is Arnold Bennett's "What the Public Wants." It is clear by this time that Bennett, the playwright, does not rise above easy skill and is capable of sliding into actual slush. He did the latter in "Sacred and Profane Love"; he did not get beyond the former even in "Judith." His realism is mimicry, his irony has not passed the Wildean stage, his passion is of paper. But in "What the Public Wants" there is one motif and one scene that are not unworthy of the author of "Clayhanger." The motif is the contrast between Worgan, the newspaper magnate who gives the public what it wants because there is nothing within him to be given, and St. John, the theatrical manager who pursues an artistic and intellectual ideal despite the public, despite poverty, obscurity, obligation. And St. John is neither aesthete, martyr, nor poseur. He is a man; he is the servant of the idea. The great scene is, of course, the scene of the spiritual and dramatic confrontation of Worgan and St. John. The part of St. John is played by Louis Calvert and it is superbly played. It towers magnificently above an agreeable but by no means astonishing performance. It has that high energy through which art becomes the essence of life. Mr. Calvert is on the stage for ten minutes and in those ten minutes fortifies one's conception of the possibilities of acting as an art.

The Provincetown Players have also reached their last bill. It consists of a new play by Susan Glaspell: "Chains of Dew." This play is plainly inferior to both "Inheritors" and "The Verge." It is delicate but its delicacy has no fine edges; it is thoughtful, but its thinking is unclarified. The poet-banker whose desire for freedom is a pose cultivated by him to permit him to enjoy the luxury of martyrdom remains a conception which—in this interpretation, at least—never steps out of Miss Glaspell's mind into the world of the concrete. The revenge of River Bluff—represented by his wife and mother—upon him is hidden in a half-lit, symbolic region. Symbolism, as before, betrays Miss Glaspell. It is a temptation to substitute it for the reality to be symbolized for the plain reason that it is so much easier to do. The concrete that symbolizes the universal—that is the artist's task, ultimate difficulty, clearest triumph. When his energy lapses he plays with symbols and seems to create when he is only writing.

Mr. and Mrs. Maurice Browne close their season at the Greenwich Village Theater with a performance of Strindberg's "Creditors." It is a great pity that their repertory experiment did not meet with more support. What, above all, our audiences need is a little education in the drama. People who talk glibly enough of Strindberg and Schnitzler have never had a chance to acquire the habit of seeing them on the stage. Seeing them habitually they may in time persuade others to give them a trial. But since neither "Creditors" nor "Light o' Love" is likely to enjoy a run uptown, the forlorn hope of repertory must be led again and again. I hope that the Brownes will not let this late experiment discourage them. Their own work, moreover, is of steady and varied excellence. What they need is more vital and intelligent associates.

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International Relations Section

The Struggle for Vilna

A SHORT time ago a brief announcement was made in a French newspaper to the effect that the Poles had "formally annexed Vilna." This statement was, as *The Nation* pointed out in its editorial columns, a testimonial to the political ineffectiveness of the League of Nations. But it was more than that. It announced the failure of all of Lithuania's national aspirations. Vilna was the capital of Lithuania from early in the fourteenth century until the absorption of Lithuania by Russia in 1795. It is the chief railway center between Warsaw and Petrograd. Its pre-war population of about 200,000, a majority of whom were Jews, with White Russians, Lithuanians, and Poles present in about equal numbers, has now fallen to 120,000. Its possession has been regarded by all Lithuanians as essential, both politically and economically, to the existence of a free Lithuanian state.

After the close of the war (November 11, 1918) Vilna fell into the possession of Bolshevik forces. The newly organized Lithuanian troops advanced upon it from the west, but the Poles, under Pilsudski, were beforehand and occupied Vilna April 20, 1919. Further advances of the Polish armies brought them into contact with Lithuanian detachments along the line of the Grodno-Vilna-Dvinsk Railway and further to the south and west in Suvalki Province.

The Lithuanian Delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris promptly protested against the Polish occupation of Vilna. The Supreme Council of the Allies had already taken cognizance of "the serious character of the situation in the regions of Grodno and Vilna where the Polish army and the Lithuanian forces are in contact" and came to the following conclusion:

> To make an appeal to the political sense of the Polish and Lithuanian governments in order to induce them to prevent by direct understanding the grave complications which would not fail to follow the opening of hostilities between two states whose union is necessary against the bolshevik peril.

In reply the Lithuanian Delegation expressed its acquiescence, for the time being, in Polish occupation—or, at least, its willingness to regard such occupation as non-hostile—in view of the Council's explanation of its character as a part of the operations against the Bolsheviki; but subsequently it reported inability to arrive at any *modus vivendi* with the Poles (May 23, 1919).

On June 13, 1919, the Lithuanian Government protested to the Supreme Council against the continued advances of Polish forces to the westward into Lithuania and asked the Council to request Poland to agree with Lithuania on a line of demarcation between their respective forces. The Council then fixed the first of the several lines of demarcation of which detailed mention is now to be made. This line began at Lyck, on the East Prussian frontier, and proceeded by Augustowo, Ratnitza, Orany, and the Vilna-Dvinsk Railway to the city of Dvinsk, leaving under Polish control a strip of territory five kilometers in width to the west of the railway. Important points left in Lithuanian possession were the city of Suvalki and the towns of Seiny and Punsk.

The Supreme Interallied Command was still in existence at this time, Marshal Foch being in command of the Polish as well as the other Allied armies. On July 10 the Lithuanian Government informed Marshal Foch that the Poles had crossed the line of demarcation at various points and had taken up positions beyond it. Marshal Foch ordered the Polish forces to withdraw but the order was not obeyed and instead of enforcing it the Supreme Council saw fit to fix a new line of demarcation, which was communicated to the Lithuanian Government July 27, 1919. This line took from Lithuanian occupation a portion of Suvalki Province, including the city of Suvalki, and gave the Poles a strip twelve kilometers in width to the west of the Vilna-Dvinsk Railway in place of the previous five kilometers. On August 30 the Poles crossed this second line of demarcation and occupied Seiny. On September 8 they crossed the line near its northern extremity and occupied Turmont.

On December 8, 1919, the Supreme Council announced as the tentative eastern frontier of Poland the "Curzon-Polk line," which gave Poland a further portion of territory claimed by Lithuania in Suvalki Province. The Lithuanian Government, however, received no official notification of the establishment of this line.

The period of establishment of the demarcation lines and their violation by the Polish forces may be called the first chapter of the struggle for Vilna. The second chapter begins in the latter part of the summer of 1920 with the advance of the Russians against Poland, as a result of which that portion of Lithuania occupied by Polish forces became an important part of the theater of war.

The treaty of peace between Lithuania and Russia, signed at Moscow on July 12, 1920, established a boundary line between the two countries. While the treaty was under discussion, the Russian Delegation had sent to the Lithuanian the following note:

> Taking into consideration the state of war between Russia and Poland and the occupation by the latter of a portion of the territory which, according to the treaty of peace, belongs to Lithuania, and in view of the impossibility that the Russian army should stop military operations against Poland at the Lithuanian frontier, from considerations of a military and strategic order, the undersigned, in the name of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, declare that the Russian Government is convinced that the passage of Russian troops across the Lithuanian frontier and the occupation by them of that part of the territory which, according to the treaty of peace, forms part of the Lithuanian state, will not be considered by the Government of Lithuania as a violation of the treaty of peace and an unfriendly act toward Lithuania.

Lithuania was obliged to accept this proposal as the only course consistent with neutrality, Polish forces being already in occupation of the Lithuanian territory which the Russians desired to cross. The Lithuanian Delegation at Moscow, however, stipulated:

> The Russian troops shall be withdrawn as soon as the military and strategic necessity for their presence shall have ceased.

The Soviet armies occupied Vilna on July 14, 1920, and on the 15th small detachments of Lithuanians also entered the city, establishing a guard over government buildings in the name of the Lithuanian Government. The Russian troops subsequently withdrew, as agreed, from Vilna and the northern and central portions of the occupied region, but from the southern portion they were driven by the Polish counter-offensive about the beginning of September.

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speak, obliterated the demarcation lines fixed by the Supreme Council of the Allies a year earlier. The Polish forces had retired from all the territory in which these lines lay. Lithuanian detachments had occupied positions in Suvalki Province, along the Polish frontier, as far south as Augustowo, and on August 27 the Lithuanian Government proposed to Poland that a line of demarcation should be fixed between their respective troops along the short Lithuano-Polish frontier. To this proposal the Polish Government did not reply. On August 30, a sharp clash took place at Augustowo in which the Lithuanians were defeated and on September 2 the Poles recaptured Seiny and Punsk.

At this moment the League of Nations enters upon the scene and the third chapter of the struggle for Vilna begins. On September 17, M. Paderewski, Polish Delegate to the League of Nations, requested the Council of the League to order Lithuania to evacuate territories illegally occupied and to respect the Curzon-Polk line. Lithuania, though not a member of the League, accepted its jurisdiction for this occasion and on September 20 the Council recommended to the two states: First, immediate cessation of hostilities; second, the adoption of the Curzon-Polk line as a provisional line of demarcation; third, an engagement by Poland to respect the neutrality of territory occupied by Lithuania to the east of this line, provided Lithuania would induce Russia to respect it likewise; fourth, the appointment of a Control Commission to supervise the execution of these terms. Both governments agreed, and on September 28, Chicherin, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, informed the Lithuanian Government that Russia would respect Lithuanian neutrality provided Poland did so.

Hostilities having ceased, negotiations began between Polish and Lithuanian delegates at Suvalki on September 29, resulting in a convention signed October 7 which established a continuation of the line of demarcation extending from a point on the Curzon-Polk line in an easterly direction as far as Bastuny, on the Lida-Vilna Railway, about 40 miles south of Vilna. This agreement left Vilna and surrounding territory in Lithuanian possession. On the day the agreement was signed the Polish General Zellgowski broke it by attacking Lithuanian troops at Orany, with two divisions, and two days later entered Vilna.

The Polish Delegate at Suvalki immediately justified the attack as an operation against the Russians, undertaken by order of the Polish High Command. But the Polish Foreign Minister Sapieha declared to the Lithuanian Government that the Polish General Staff had no information on the subject and that the Polish High Command had not ordered the attack.

On October 14 the Polish Government announced that Zellgowski had acted as a rebel and that his action would be the subject of a severe military inquiry. The Council of the League of Nations made a similar announcement. Referring to these announcements, the Lithuanian Government, on October 25, protested to the League against reinforcement of Zellgowski from Poland.

In view of the new conditions, the Council of the League put forward on October 27, 1920, a new proposal: that a plebiscite should be held, under League control, by which the inhabitants of the territories to the east of the Curzon line should "be able to freely express their will on the subject of their attachment" to Poland or to Lithuania. Both governments accepted the proposal, but Lithuania suggested that the plebiscite should not be held in territory given to her by the Convention of Suvalki, and that it should extend to portions of Suvalki Province which she had always claimed, and further that non-recognition of Lithuania by the Powers placed her at a disadvantage in comparison with Poland.

An armistice signed by representatives of Lithuania, Poland, and Zellgowski, on November 29, left the latter in possession of Vilna, stipulating, however, the immediate reduction and early withdrawal of his forces.

A general meeting of the League of Nations took place at Geneva at the beginning of December, 1920. The Lithuanian Delegate was informed that the Council had charged Colonel Chardigny, head of the League's Control Commission in Lithuania, to bring the Lithuanian and Polish governments to an agreement on the limits of the territory to be submitted to the plebiscite. The Lithuanian Delegate replied that Lithuania could not admit the claim of any other Power to territory included within the boundaries set by the treaty with Russia, and that the Council itself ought to fix the conditions of the plebiscite, according to its original proposal.

On December 8 and again on the 14th, the Lithuanian Delegate advised the Council that Zellgowski was receiving constant supplies and reinforcements from Poland and that his troops were not respecting the neutral zone fixed by the armistice agreement of November 29. Similar complaints were addressed to Polish representatives on the Control Commission by Colonel Chardigny, its head.

Meantime the League Council had decided to send to Vilna a force of some 1,500 troops from various countries, members of the League, to keep order during the plebiscite. The Soviet Government at once protested against this project, as well as against the continued presence of Zellgowski's troops in Vilna, regarding the presence of any armed forces other than those of Lithuania in this territory as violating the Russo-Lithuanian Treaty, which declares:

> Both contracting parties find themselves: . . .
>
> 2. To prohibit to states which are actually at war with the other contracting party, and to organizations and groups aiming at armed war against the other contracting party, the use of its ports or territory for the transaction of anything that might be used to attack the other contracting party, such as armed forces, military equipment, technical appliances of a military nature, and artillery, quartermaster's, engineering, or aviation supplies of such states, organizations, or groups.

The attitude of the Russian Government was brought to the attention of the Council by the Lithuanian Delegate.

On December 20, Secretary Drummond, in a practically identical note to the Polish and Lithuanian delegates, announced that the Council, after due consideration, had decided to carry out the plebiscite and send the international army to Lithuania, and asked whether the League could count upon the entire support of the governments concerned. In addition, the note to the Polish Delegate inquired:

> [Can the Council] count upon the entire support of the Polish Government to obtain the acceptance by General Zellgowski of all the measures which the Council may consider necessary for the disarming, disbanding, or withdrawal of his troops, or for the reorganization of the administration of the territories occupied by him?

The Polish Delegate replied that the Council might rely on "the entire moral support" of the Polish Government in obtaining Zellgowski's consent to the measures suggested.

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Are We a Nation of Low-Brows?

It is charged that the public is intellectually incompetent. Is this true? It is charged that the public is afraid of ideas, disinclined to think, unfriendly to culture. This is a serious matter. The facts should be faced frankly and honestly.

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We believe there has been enough talk about the public's inferior taste. The time has come to give the public an opportunity to find out something about philosophy, science and the higher things. And the thing must be done at a low price, because the average person's pocketbook is not fat. As it stands, the publishers charge about five dollars a volume, and then wonder why the people stand aloof.

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We have selected a library of 25 books, which we are going to offer the public at an absurdly low price. We shall do this to find out if it is true that the public is not going to accept the better things when once given the chance. And we shall make the price so reasonable, so inviting, that there shall be no excuse on the ground of expense.

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Once the contents of the following 25 books are absorbed and digested, we believe a person will be well on the road to culture. And by culture we do not mean something dry-as-dust, something incomprehensible to the average mind—genuine culture, like great sculpture, can be made to delight the common as well as the elect. The books listed below are all simple works and yet they are great—all great things are simple. They are serious works, of course, but we do not think the public will refuse to put its mind on serious topics. Here are the 25 books:

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The reply of the Lithuanian Government, sent January 31, 1921, accepted the plebiscite but named the conditions necessary for its just execution, viz.: (1) Evacuation of all Polish troops from the territory in question; (2) administration of the plebiscite zone by a state having no interest whatever in the dispute; (3) guaranty by Poland against a repetition of the Zellgowski affair; (4) a delay sufficient to allow the influence of Polish propaganda to subside; (5) *de jure* recognition of Lithuania; (6) action by Poland to overcome the Soviet Government's hostility to the project. Bourgeois telegraphed to Chardigny:

It will be impossible to hold the plebiscite as long as Poland does not succeed in removing Zellgowski and demobilizing his troops. We think it indispensable to adopt an energetic policy in regard to the Polish Government; the responsibility devolving upon Poland for the existing difficulties and delays must be pointed out to that Government.

Meanwhile Zellgowski had himself called an election in central Lithuania to be held under his auspices, but on February 3 it was announced that at the request of the Polish Government he had indefinitely postponed it.

On or about February 15 the Government of Switzerland declined to permit the passage of a part of the "international army" through its territory on the way to Vilna.

The plebiscite was definitely abandoned by the League Council at its meeting of March, 1921, the Council being convinced that a free, rapid, and sincere expression of popular opinion had been rendered impossible by the *coup de force* of General Zellgowski. The Council now proposed direct negotiations between the two governments, under the guidance of M. Paul Hymans of Belgium, who had from the beginning been specially charged on behalf of the League with the study of the Vilna question.

The negotiations were to cover not merely the Vilna dispute, but all matters of difference between Poland and Lithuania. Zellgowski's troops were to be returned to "regular discipline" and immediately reduced to not more than 15,000 men. These proposals were accepted by Lithuania (March 12) and by Poland (March 19).

The joint Lithuanian-Polish Conference met at Brussels early in May, 1921. M. Hymans stated to the delegates that it was desirable to establish between the two countries a very close entente, approaching federation, as to economic interests, military defense, and foreign policy. He presented the draft of an agreement embodying this idea, the principal features of which may be summarized as follows:

(1) The establishment of a bipartite state of Lithuania, composed of two autonomous "cantons" on the Swiss model, one comprising western Lithuania with its capital at Kovno, the other central Lithuania with its capital at Vilna, which city was also to be the federal capital; (2) a joint Council for Foreign Affairs; (3) a defensive military convention; (4) an economic convention, embodying the principle of free trade between Poland and Lithuania; (5) unrestricted use of the port of Memel and the River Niemen by Poland at all times.

On condition of the acceptance of these terms by both parties, M. Hymans gave it to be understood that not only Vilna, but the Memel territory, should go to Lithuania.

The Lithuanian delegates accepted the draft agreement as a basis of discussion. The Polish delegation called for the admittance of a delegation from central Lithuania to take part in the discussions. Unable to accept this proposal, M. Hymans suspended the negotiations and referred the matter once more to the League Council. The Council approved the draft agreement (June 28, 1921) and further

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Is This a Boycott?

And is book reviewing a public service or a private vendetta?

An open letter to the Literary Editors of the New York "Times," "Tribune," "Herald," the Chicago "Tribune," "Evening Post," "Daily News," the Boston "Evening Transcript," the Baltimore "Sun," the Louisville "Times," the Kansas City "Times," the Los Angeles "Times," the San Francisco "Chronicle," the Seattle "Times":

GENTLEMEN: There is an old story of a Kentuckian who knocked another down. "Did he call you a liar?" asked some one. "No, sah, he proved it." Two years ago the writer of this letter committed the offense of proving that American journalism serves private instead of public interests. He proved it concerning the news and editorial columns of the American daily press. He now asks: Do those who conduct its literary departments desire to enter a plea of guilty to the same charge?

Last fall we published a work called "The Book of Life: Mind and Body." The book did not deal with any "radical" subject. It was a quiet and friendly exposition of the laws of sanity and wisdom in thought, and of health in body; a book of practical counsel, seeking to tell people what they need to know in order to live wisely in the modern world. So far as we could learn, there was no book in existence covering quite the same field. We purposely published it, for a test, through one of the most respected of American publishing houses, the Macmillan Company. The book was advertised, and review copies duly sent to the leading newspapers: and with what result? Two papers reviewed it favorably, and two reviewed it unfavorably; this is the total—out of some five hundred papers which regularly give space to book reviews!

We might take this extraordinary phenomenon as a compliment to the effectiveness of "The Brass Check" as a controversial agent. But we are more concerned about the question of standards of fairplay in book reviewing. We ask—and we think the general public will be interested in the answer: Is book reviewing a public service, or is it a special privilege? Is the function of a literary editor to tell the public what is new and worth while in letters, or is it to punish men who dare to lift their voice against the rule of finance capital in our country?

Concerning "The Book of Life," H. G. Wells wrote to the author: "Why do you always think of things first?" Georg Brandes, dean of European critics, sent a message to express the "pleasure and profit" he had derived from the book. These are two of a score of European opinions which might be quoted; for, as it happens, the man whom the American press has chosen for boycott has been chosen by both the critics and the readers of every cultured foreign country of the world to be the best-known of living American writers. "The Book of Life," which you ignore, is appearing serially in "La Rassegna Internationale" (Rome and Geneva) and "Cahiers Internationaux" (Paris). It is being published in book form in Great Britain, Germany, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries. Do you really think that this has no significance in American letters, and no interest to the American public?

We are happy to afford you an opportunity to reconsider your decision upon this book. We have now completed the second volume, which contains "The Book of Love" and "The Book of Society." The former is a discussion of the art of health and happiness in sex: a frank and friendly, wholly modern and practical study of love and marriage, birth control, chastity, monogamy, jealousy, divorce. Floyd Dell wrote: "I envy you the courage of exposing in print your views on the subject of love; I should not dare to do so, myself." Reading the manuscript, he excepted to two chapters, which he insisted had been written by Billy Sunday! "The rest of the book makes me happy. We so need sanity in sex. The book attacks the personal problem very vigorously and helpfully." Albert Rhys Williams writes: "I marvel again at your range of reading and your tremendous power in co-ordinating all the facts into a fascinating scientific discussion. I not only read it myself, but had it read aloud to a number of others. They regarded it as a very masterful treatise."

As for "The Book of Society," it discusses the modern man in relation to his fellows, his rights and his duties, the process of social evolution, the stage which the world has now reached, and that into which it is moving. It explains modern industrial problems, and is a guide book to the new era. Many people ask: "Just what do you radicals want, and how do you expect to get it?" Here is the answer.

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decided that the Diet of central Lithuania when elected should be permitted to accept or reject any agreement reached by the Polish and Lithuanian delegations, and that Zellgowski's troops should be withdrawn from the contested territory and a local militia not exceeding 5,000 should maintain order under control of the League.

These resolutions were accepted by Poland July 15, but Lithuania declined to accept the proposal to allow ratification by the central Lithuanian Diet, observing that this would give one part of Lithuania the final determination of fundamental questions relating to the whole state.

M. Hymans then invited the two governments to send delegations to Geneva to confer with him separately, and these conferences began on September 3, 1921. M. Hymans placed before each of the two delegations a draft agreement, differing in detail, but not in principle, from the Brussels draft. The draft was again accepted by the Lithuanian delegates (September 12), but the Polish delegates took the position that the acceptance by them of the Brussels draft and the Council's resolution of June 28 made further action on their part unnecessary.

At the September meeting of the Council, M. Hymans's second draft was approved, with the addition of a protocol annex providing for ratification, not by the central Lithuanian Diet, but by a specially elected assembly from all parts of Lithuania. When this plan was laid before the Lithuanian Assembly that body repudiated it, being radically opposed to the scheme of a close union with Poland. Accordingly the Lithuanian Foreign Minister informed the League Council that it was necessary to withdraw Lithuania's acceptance, but proposed that the matter be again taken up at the Council's meeting of January, 1922. This proposal the Council declined to consider, thus closing the third chapter of the controversy.

The Polish Diet at Warsaw had on November 16 passed a resolution calling for elections in the Vilna district to an assembly to decide the sovereignty of central Lithuania. On November 30 Zellgowski, or his successor, fixed the date of the elections as January 8, 1922. The Lithuanian, White Russian, and Jewish elements of the population abstained from voting. On February 21, the central Lithuanian assembly thus elected voted, 96 to 6, for the immediate and complete incorporation of the Vilna district with Poland and for the absolute repudiation of all Lithuanian claims.

The Lithuanian Government proposed to the Polish Government, at the beginning of February, that direct negotiations be held on the subject of boundaries alone, going back to the Suvalki Convention of October 7, 1920, just preceding Zellgowski's seizure of Vilna, and taking the demarcation line then agreed upon as a basis for further adjustments. The Polish Government declined this proposal. The Lithuanian Government then proposed that the Suvalki Convention be referred for adjudication to the Permanent Court of International Justice, established under Article XIV of the League Covenant. The Polish Government rejected this proposal also, stating that it regarded the Vilna question as settled by the vote of the Vilna Assembly for annexation to Poland (March 16, 1922).

The Vilna question on May 5 was presented to the Genoa Conference by the Lithuanian Delegation there, but no action has yet been taken, and meanwhile in late April the Paris *Temps* announced the formal annexation of Vilna by the Polish Government. Whether this is to be the final chapter of the story remains to be seen.

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